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The Shape of Things

AS THE TRIAL OF THIRTY-ONE WHITE MEN for the lynching of a Negro enters its second and probably final week in the crowded courtroom of Greenville, South Carolina, it has become evident that one Southern state is determined to end an evil tradition. Veteran trial reporters who came expecting the customary "show" have witnessed a judicial process of which any state might be proud. Thirty-seven-year-old Judge Robert J. Martin, Jr., and the prosecuting and defense attorneys have rigorously observed the rules of court procedure. There has been no disorder, little flamboyant oratory. The case against thirty-one men, twenty-six of whom admitted being members of a lynch party, has been energetically pressed. Since Willie Earle, accused of the fatal stabbing of a Yellow Cab driver last February, was taken from the Pickens County jail, mutilated, and shot to death, events have moved fast. From the beginning, the newspapers demanded action. Governor J. Strom Thurmond assigned as special prosecutor the brilliant solicitor Sam R. Watt, who last year secured the conviction of 471 of the 473 persons he brought to trial. The jury's verdict will likely be handed down this week. It is perhaps too much to expect that inveterate custom will be overturned and white men will be sentenced for a Negro's murder. The jury, faced with the extraordinary circumstance of thirty-one defendants, may return verdicts of varying degrees of severity. But whatever the outcome, the fact stands that the governor, the courts, and the responsible white citizens of South Carolina have made a bold attempt at a new definition of Southern justice.

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IN THE CHOICE OF NITTI AS ITALIAN PREMIER two considerations surely played a part—his mastery of economic questions and the insignificance of his party. At a moment when the lira is selling on the black market at 900 to the dollar and when many conflicting interests delay the general progress of reconstruction, the presence at the head of the Cabinet of a financial authority like Nitti might have an excellent effect. In Parliament he leads a small group, the National Democratic Union, made up of proved anti-fascists like himself but with no chance of developing into a major national party. It is an ideal position from which to preside over a coalition, and a coalition in which three almost equally strong parties—Communists, Christian Democrats and Socialists—must be included. The general elections are scheduled for October, and for months past Italy has been in a state of political tension. De Gasperi came back from the United States with greatly increased personal prestige, but his tactics after his return succeeded only in convincing the left that he was using his augmented power as Premier to escape an almost certain electoral defeat. Nitti, as leader of a small party, will not provoke the same sort of suspicion. As this is written, the composition of his Cabinet is still undecided. It seems certain that he will have to reduce the representation of Communists and Socialists to include Pacciardi's Republicans, Saragat's dissident Socialists, and the remnant of the Action Party. But the diminution of left strength will be partly offset by the exchange of premiers. On social issues Nitti is far more progressive than De Gasperi, who is considered too close to the Vatican. Besides which, Nitti's old, deep-rooted anti-clericalism will facilitate his relations with the other left parties upon which he must finally depend.

*

CONTRARY TO EXPECTATIONS AND AGAINST the advice of Secretary of Labor Schwellenbach, President Truman has signed H. R. 2157—the bill outlawing all pending portal-to-portal suits except those based on activities compensable by contract or custom. Thus Mr. Truman has associated himself with a piece of class legislation of doubtful constitutionality. For this is a measure which retroactively prevents the courts from passing on the validity of claims to unpaid wages—that is, claims to a particular kind of property. Imagine the same principle applied to claims for corporation tax refunds, based on an interpretation of the law which the courts had upheld! No doubt many of the portal-to-portal suits filed would eventually have been thrown out of court: some, in fact have already been withdrawn following the decision of Judge Picard in the Mt. Clemens Pottery case that claims for as much as fourteen minutes unpaid time per day were too trifling to warrant court interference. But this new act condemns good and bad claims alike. Moreover it goes beyond the portal-to-portal issue by making it easier for employers to evade their obligations under the wage-hour law and the two acts which regulate labor standards of government contractors. In future, even though claims made under these

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acts are found to be valid, courts will be permitted to waive or reduce the now mandatory double-damages provided employers can show "reasonable grounds" for believing that they were not violating the law. Mr. Truman, in his message to Congress, voices doubts about the "possibly ambiguous language" of this section and says he will ask for remedial action if necessary. But does he really expect to get such action from a Congress which has shown that it is interested only in remedies prescribed by the N. A. M.?

✶

THE PRESIDENT MAY HAVE HOPED THAT BY signing the portal-pay bill he would offset the effect of his probable veto of the Taft-Hartley labor bill. He had been warned that if the House-Senate conferees should accept in substance the Senate measure, abandoning the more savage provisions of the House bill, they would put the President in an awkward spot politically. This seems to us a most dubious estimate of the situation. The Taft-Hartley bill is far more drastic than the Case bill which Mr. Truman vetoed last year. The assinine provision that a union may lose its bargaining rights if a single officer is "reasonably" thought to be a Communist opens the way to endless abuse. Exposure of unions to law suits is a threat to their treasuries that is not balanced by any corresponding right on their part to sue an employer for breach of contract. The flat ban on the closed shop is purely punitive. If the President vetoes the bill and the Senate overrides his veto, his political position will be better, not worse, than if he signed it.

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SOME DEGREE OF BUSINESS REACTION IS NOW unavoidable, according to the Committee on Economic Stability sponsored by Americans for Democratic Action, but we still have a chance to head off the kind of collapse which occurred at the end of 1920. To this end, the committee, which comprises eleven top New Deal economists headed by Chester Bowles, has put forward a short-range emergency program which could be set into effect within the next sixty days. "The heart of our present danger," it declares, "lies in the lack of balance between wages, prices, and profits" which has developed since stabilization was jettisoned last year. The cost of living has rapidly outstripped the rise in salaries and wages, with the result that income currently being paid out is insufficient to clear the markets of goods being produced. To close the gap the committee proposes an average reduction in prices of 10 per cent—bigger cuts, it suggests, would put in motion a deflationary spiral—through the machinery of a federal price-adjustment board. It also urges the generalization of the 15 cents-an-hour wage increase won by some unions and the raising of the legal minimum wage floor to 65 cents an hour. Other points in its program include an increase

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in unemployment-insurance coverage and payments, extension of rent control, tax reductions designed to swell the purchasing power of the lower brackets, a much enlarged federal-housing program on lines promoting a cut in construction costs, and a great expansion of credit to foreign nations. The whole plan, of which only the bare bones can be outlined here, is moderate and realistic. In an early issue we hope to devote more space to it. Meanwhile we urge our readers to study the report for themselves and to press their Congressmen to do likewise. It can be obtained from Americans for Democratic Action, 1740 K Street N. W., Washington, D. C.

✶

THE SUPREME COURT MADE HISTORY WHEN by seven to two it upheld action taken by the Interstate Commerce Commission to equalize rail freight rates as between the East and the South and West. It was in May, 1945, that the commission at long last heeded pleas against discrimination and ordered a reduction of "class rates" in the South and West by 10 per cent and an increase of the same proportion in "official territory," which covers the area east of the Mississippi and north of the Ohio and Potomac. This decision was announced as an interim measure pending the elaboration of a program by the ICC, for "national uniformity in the classification of freight and a greater degree of national uniformity in the class rate structure." The protests of Northern states against the prospective loss of their present advantage in transport costs failed to impress the court. A majority of the justices found that existing discriminatory rates do, in fact, serve as "'trade barriers," impeding established industries in the regions where they apply and checking the rise of new ones. It is true that "class rates" apply to only a small proportion of rail traffic but, since they are charged mainly on manufactured goods, they have burdened business in the South and West. Apart from its direct economic effects, condemnation of this particular discrimination has symbolic significance, marking as it does the beginning of the end of internal "colonialism." Next week *The Nation* will publish a fuller discussion of the subject by Ellis Arnall, former governor of Georgia.

✶

THE CONNECTICUT STATE SENATE HAS defeated by a voice vote of 23 to 12 a bill permitting physicians to prescribe contraceptive devices for married women—surely a moderate proposal and one which the House of Representatives had the sense and courage to pass by a vote of 180 to 40. The fight against the bill was conducted chiefly by the Catholic church, which held that the measure would weaken public morality. The statute of 1879 which forbids the *use* of contraceptive devices remains in effect. And it will be just as effective in the future, no doubt, as it has been in the past. The law, as everyone knows, is neither accepted nor enforced. Contraceptive devices are bootlegged in Connecticut, and the statute of 1879 has occasioned many a ribald joke. Is this the sort of public morality of which the church approves?

The Assembly's Decision

THE United Nations passed its first test on the Palestine question with surprisingly high marks. Palestine was lifted from the doorstep of a single state and brought before the world assembly for its judgment. Those most deeply involved in the fate of that strife-torn land—Jews, Arabs, and Great Britain—had a full opportunity to state their case. And the General Assembly, in handling a situation that was keeping the entire Near East in a dangerous state of tension, showed a new maturity. Much credit for its achievement goes to the able chairman, Señor Aranha of Brazil, who presided over the plenary sessions, and perhaps even more to Canada's Lester B. Pearson, who handled the rugged sessions of the Political Committee with wisdom, firmness, and imagination. Both chairmen allowed wide freedom of discussion but never lost sight of the prime task for which the Assembly was called—the appointment of a commission of investigation and the assignment of its duties. The final vote showed for the first time since the end of the war that an international body can reach a solid moral judgment when kept clear of the entanglements of big-power dissension.

The course of the three weeks' debate revealed the strength of a moderately stated case. At the outset, all the advantage seemed to be on the side of the five Arab states, which presented with all the eloquence at their command the argument for an independent Arab Palestine. But they overplayed their hand, and the extremism and threats of open war that came increasingly into their arguments swung the majority of member states against them. In contrast, the representatives of the Jewish Agency, Messrs. Silver, Shertok and Ben-Gurion, showed restraint and reason and a willingness to accept the findings of the United Nations commission.

One of the most interesting features of the whole session was the subordinate role played by the big powers. Such states as Poland, Norway, Czechoslovakia, South Africa, Australia, Guatemala, Colombia, Chile, and Panama carried the fight to a clear-cut conclusion. It was clearly to Britain's advantage to say little. Its presentation of the Palestine problem to the United Nations was a tacit confession of failure to discharge its mandate. It became clear that Britain was prepared to accept the United Nations findings provided they were supported by United Nations authority. Cadogan's speeches were few, brief, and almost always to a procedural point.

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The Soviet Union throughout most of the discussion seemed to be taking a moderately pro-Arab position in supporting immediate Palestinian independence. But it favored hearing the Jewish Agency and was quite willing to have the case of immigration and the Jewish refugees in the D. P. camps considered as an integral part of the Palestine problem. Mr. Gromyko's most dramatic intervention, however, came in the closing hours of the plenary session when he outlined the kind of solution his government would favor. The most satisfactory settlement would, in his opinion, be a bi-national state in which the rights of both Jewish and Arab communities were guaranteed. But if existing tensions made such a scheme unworkable, then the Soviet Union would favor a partition plan setting up a Jewish and an Arab state.

Over against such a bold stand, the United States delegation's role appeared both negative and picayune. Senator Austin opposed, on procedural grounds, the demands of the Arab states for an independent Palestine. However, in a particularly weasel-worded amendment he made an attempt to steer the investigating committee toward some kind of independent-Palestine solution. This was properly voted down. For the rest, he seemed content to insist upon a small-nation rather than a big-power commission and managed to get his seven candidates designated in a block to the eleven-man investigating commission. Those who sat through the long session at Lake Success and Flushing listened in vain for a restatement of the American stand on a National Home for the Jews, a stand taken by every American President since the Balfour Declaration was enunciated. They listened in vain for a reiteration of President Truman's demand that 100,000 Jewish refugees now in D. P. camps be allowed to make a new home in Palestine. They listened in vain for a slight whisper that the United States was prepared to take moral leadership in an issue that pressed so sharply on the conscience of the world.

The commission of investigation now sets about its task. Its terms of reference are broad. It is obligated to examine fully every aspect of the Palestine problem. And it is charged with working out the intricate and thorny details of a plan for Palestine that will satisfy the just claims of all the Palestinian peoples. It will help rather than hinder the work of the commission if the United States government now states with a clarity equal to that of the Russians what it believes to be essential to a just Palestine settlement. The Russian stand gives the committee hope that a settlement may be arrived at that will not be upset by big-power dissension. But the ultimate authority behind any settlement must be the authority of the United Nations, and of all the member states none must be prepared to accept as much responsibility as the United States. The time has come, therefore, for the United States to declare itself.

Federal Aid and Catholic Schools

SO FAR has the American school system deteriorated that the most ardent champions of states' rights, and the most penny-pinching legislators, now see federal aid as the only solution. The shocking figures are well known: more than five million children between the ages of seven and seventeen—one child out of every six in the country—either deprived of schooling entirely or subjected to part-time, substandard instruction at the hands of unqualified teachers; three million illiterate adults; six thousand schools closed down for lack of instructors; and 50 per cent of our antiquated school buildings in need of replacement. With financing left entirely to state and local communities, we have been spending a third as much for our schools as we spend for recreation, smoking, liquor, and cosmetics. As a people we spend three billion dollars on education and scatter five billion on horses at the track.

Apart from the emergency appeal, an unanswerable argument can be made for federal aid in principle. Dr. James B. Conant, president of Harvard University, putting the case simply, says: (1) All school children are future citizens and voters, and their conduct as such will determine the kind of nation we are to live in; and (2) we are a mobile people, our towns crowded with citizens born and raised elsewhere. There is certainly as much reason for New Yorkers to contribute to the education of a Kentuckian who will spend his adult life in Manhattan as to that of a Brooklynite who will one day make his home in California.

There is nothing new about these arguments or about the dire need of the schools for more money, and bills calling for federal aid have been introduced in Congress with monotonous regularity for years. States' rights fanatics could not have blocked them, any more than they prevented legislation for social security, a wage-hour law, or the National Youth Act. What has blocked every attempt to provide federal aid for the public schools of this country—it had better be said bluntly—is the power of the Catholic church.

The issue is simple. In a letter addressed to the chairman of the Senate Committee on Labor and Education in 1943, the National Catholic Welfare Conference warned: "The Catholic position is one of opposition to any measure for federal aid to education that would: . . . (b) fail to make mandatory the inclusion of Catholic schools in its benefits."

We consider this approach a clear violation of the spirit—and of the letter—of the constitutional provision that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion." Archbishop Cushing of Boston

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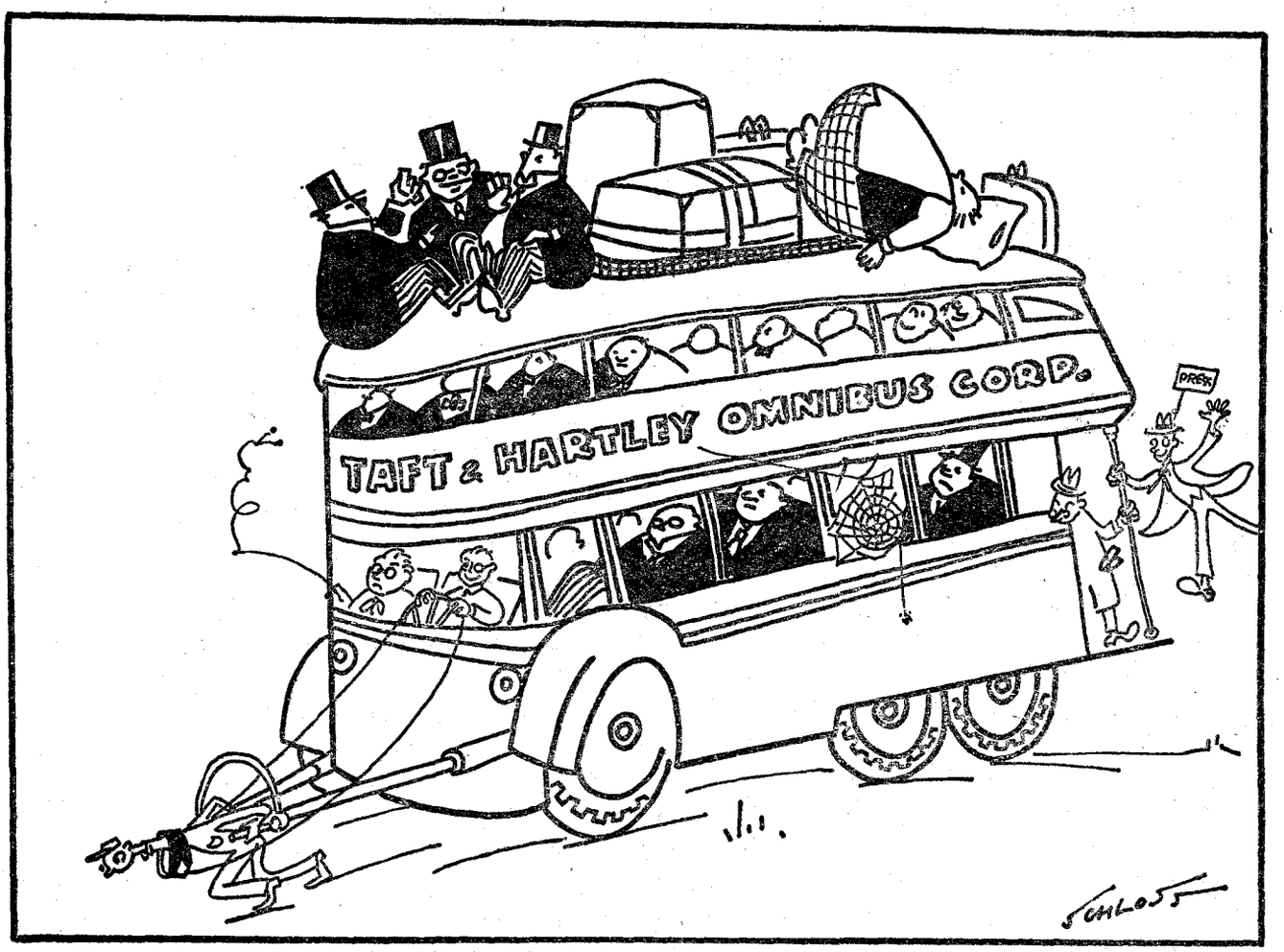
says that no objections to state provision of buses for parochial school children "or any other democratic aids to education, no phony plea of conflict between church and state . . . must be permitted to obscure the sovereign right of the parent to choose the teachers of his children." That right, speaking of "phony pleas," is not challenged by anyone. It is guaranteed by the same Constitution that forbids the state to finance a parent's preference for private rather than public instruction.

Feeling for the tradition of complete separation of church and state, as old as the Republic, is still strong—witness attacks on the Catholic position at the recent session of the Methodist Council of Bishops, the Southern Baptist Convention, and the seventy-third convention of the American Association of School Administrators. But against it is the desperate need for federal funds. Many educators, convinced that no help will be forthcoming from Washington unless the parochial schools get a cut, have been willing to make concessions, and the two principal bills now before the Senate reflect this spirit of resignation.

Of the two measures, the one sponsored by Senator Taft is considerably less dangerous on this issue than that of the more liberal Senator Aiken. The Taft bill, backed by the National Education Association, would direct each state to spend proportionally as much of its federal grant on parochial schools as it now spends for this purpose out of its own funds. Since sixteen states at present make some allowance for parochial schools, thirty-two would be unaffected by the provision. The Aiken bill, on the other hand, would allow a fixed proportion of federal money to be given to non-public schools in all forty-eight states. In every other respect it is a better measure than Taft's, entailing far larger appropriations. It is supported by Senate liberals like Murray and Morse, who rightly regard as "niggardly" a bill whose sponsor himself calls it only a "humble beginning." Nevertheless, we hope the Senate will choose the Taft bill, raising its amounts, rather than accept the Aiken bill and its dangerous precedent.

The Vermont Senator seems to us much too cavalier in dismissing so fundamental a tenet of the American faith as the separation of church and state—an argument, he says, that "falls down when under the G. I. Bill of Rights the United States is paying today to educate priests, Protestant ministers, and rabbis." There is a difference between the government's giving a sum of money to an individual for an education of his choice and granting a fixed and permanent proportion of taxpayers' money to religious institutions. The first is legitimate aid to a deserving individual; the second, a systematic undermining of the public-school system.



ALL ABOARD FOR YESTERDAY!

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The Greek Frontier

BY CONSTANTINE POULOS

Salonika, May 5

AT THE height of the December, 1944, "outbreak" in Athens, the British Foreign Office rushed that excellent Beaverbrook cartoonist Osbert Lancaster to Greece in an attempt to "correct the erroneous interpretations" being made by two-thirds of the American and British correspondents who were covering the tragic events. Thereafter Lancaster sat in on the daily press conferences held by Lieutenant-Colonel Anthony Rouse of the British Headquarters Intelligence Section and gave his interpretation of the political news.

One morning in late December Lancaster announced that several hundred Bulgarians had crossed the border to help the Greek leftists. When he refused to divulge his source or to elaborate on the report, correspondents turned to Rouse, who, obviously embarrassed, declined to confirm, deny, or discuss Lancaster's statement. It was, of course, pure fabrication and entirely in keeping with the Foreign Office's frantic efforts to smear the Greek left and the resistance movement. The report, however, opened old wounds, and after its publication the walls of Balkan nationalism began to be built up again.

Almost a year earlier, when the Foreign Office realized that post-war Greece might have a leftist government oriented toward the Soviet Union instead of a royalist right-wing government oriented toward Great Britain, it had started playing on the old slavophobia of the Greek people. This line, cleverly upheld by Foreign Office diplomats in Egypt and its agents in Greece, coincided with the anti-Slav propaganda spread by the Nazis in Greece. The British line also encouraged the Greek quislings to pretend that they were collaborating with the Germans and organizing armed anti-resistance forces only because it was necessary to prepare a bridgehead for the British when they came to liberate Greece from the "Slav-loving" Communists.

This was very effective propaganda in Greece, and two new words were added to the Greek language, *Eamobulgar* and *Eamoslav*. Every member of E. A. M. (the resistance organization) was called either a Bulgarian or a Slav-lover and was accused of wanting to give Macedonia and Thrace to the "barbarians in the north," who now were not only Slavs but Communists, too. The charges were plausible because the Greek Communist Party had advocated "an autonomous Macedonia and Thrace" at a time when "autonomy" plainly meant the incorporation of Greek Macedonia and Greek Thrace in Bulgaria.

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THE COMMUNIST ATTITUDE

In May, 1922, at a meeting of the leading members of the Bulgarian, Greek, and Yugoslav Communist parties held in Sofia, the Bulgarian party wanted the "autonomy" of Macedonia (Greek and Yugoslav) and Thrace placed at the top of the agenda, arguing that if the 50,000 Bulgarian refugees leaving those territories in the exchange of populations were given some hope of getting their lands back, they would join the Bulgarian Communist Party instead of the terroristic, reactionary I. M. R. O. (Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization). The suggestion was opposed by the Greek and Yugoslav delegations, and the matter was dropped. At the fifth congress of the Third International in Moscow George Dimitrov and Vasil Kolarov again raised the question, and the Greek and Yugoslav delegations again opposed it. They argued that it was intended to serve only the questionable purpose of the Bulgarian party, which at that time was the strongest in the Balkans, that it would ruin the growing Greek and Yugoslav parties, and that instead of using a nationalistic slogan the congress should call for a Socialist federation of Balkan states. Dimitrov and Kolarov prevailed, however. The Yugoslav delegation withdrew from the congress, but the disciplined Greek party accepted the new policy and worked for it for a few years.

When the Communist Party was outlawed in Bulgaria, the cry for Thracian and Macedonian autonomy died out. After 1931 the Comintern seemed to forget about it, and the Greek party followed suit. But the bitter taste was still there, and Communist activities were hampered. At a meeting of the Central Committee in June, 1935, the Greek Communist Party went on record as abandoning the old goal and standing for the inviolability of Greek boundaries, making the excuse that the "ethnological composition" of Macedonia and Thrace had changed. The sixth congress of the party, held in December of the same year, indorsed the Central Committee's decision, and the Communists have not sounded the autonomy slogan since that time.

In 1943 the E. A. M.'s guerrilla army, the E. L. A. S., rejected a proposal of the Yugoslav partisans that they enter Greek territory and organize the Slav minority there into a resistance movement under Tito's control. In October, 1944, the E. L. A. S. attacked, disbanded,

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and drove over the Yugoslav frontier one of its own battalions (belonging to the 28th Regiment of the 9th E. L. A. S. Division), made up largely of Slavs from Greek Macedonia, which had come out openly for autonomy during the withdrawal of the Germans.

The British were aware of these actions but preferred to ignore them—as they ignored the fact that in the period between the withdrawal of the Germans from Greek Macedonia in October, 1944, and the arrival of British and regular Greek troops in March, 1945, the E. A. M. prohibited all autonomist demonstrations, and the E. L. A. S. put down by force such armed autonomist elements as still attempted to operate.

And so, in December, 1944, E. L. A. S. prisoners were killed in Athens, a block away from British headquarters, because the small royalist mobs had been inflamed to the point where they actually believed that every E. L. A. S. fighter was pro-Slav and a traitor. Just as every Greek in the resistance movement was called a "Bulgarian" and "Slav-lover," every Slav in Greek Macedonia was called a "Communist." And when the carefully screened Greek troops entered the area, the Slavs suffered doubly, first for being Slavs, and secondly for being Communists.

WHAT MAKES A GUERRILLA?

The population of Greek Macedonia is now more than 90 per cent Greek. The handful of Slavs there, roughly seventy-five to eighty thousand, consists of those who elected to remain when the exchange of populations was made after the First World War.

Between 1918 and 1936, according to the testimony of Slav witnesses before the United Nations Commission of Inquiry, the Slavs in Greek Macedonia were treated "even better than the Greek refugees from Turkey." But when the King George–Metaxas dictatorship was established in 1936, the Slav minority was looked upon as second-class citizens and placed under various legal handicaps. It became a legal offense to use the Macedonian Slavonic language in public: witnesses before the U. N. Commission told of old women being beaten and jailed for asking the price of potatoes in the only language they knew.

After the war, the occupation, the liberation, and control by the E. A. M., royalist-rightist control was finally established and the persecution started all over again.

Pericles Eliadou, member of Parliament from the Florina-Kastoria district, which has the largest concentration of Slavs in Greece, writing in the royalist Athens daily, *Ethnikos Kyrix,* of March 30, called for the forced removal of all "this refuse" from Greece.

When automobile trouble forced a subcommittee of the U. N. Commission to make an unscheduled stop at the Greek Macedonian town of Verga on March 13, Slav villagers gathered around the beaming Mr. Eliadou —who had hopped on the subcommittee's motor convoy just as local politicians in the United States climb aboard the Presidential special to prove to the voters that they have the official blessing—and told him they were fed up. "You have cut off our UNRRA supplies since September," one of them said. "We worked fifty days clearing the snow from roads and you haven't paid us. We have no rights; we have no justice. If these conditions continue, we too will go to the mountains."

Caricature by Seligson
Premier Maximos

Only a small percentage of these Greek Slavs want an autonomous Macedonia—as yet. But the number of eager Slav peasants and mountaineers who crowded around the young Yugoslav liaison officer with the subcommittee to ask about the "new" Yugoslavia and to pour out their bitter stories of persecution should have served as a warning to the Greeks. A real movement for autonomy within the Yugoslav federation will grow with very little outside prodding when the Slavs on the Greek side, continuing to live in squalor and fear, begin to envy life across the frontier, where houses are being rebuilt, and there are new state tractor stations, and those who work can at least eat.

The government in Athens is not intelligent enough or unselfish enough to see this. When it was suddenly frightened by the strength and fervor of the new guerrilla forces in the mountains, it decided to camouflage its own deficiencies by accusing its northern neighbors of organizing internal revolt for the purpose of tearing Macedonia and Thrace away from Greece; at the same time it tightened the screws on the Slav minority.

The Athens liberal center daily, *Ta Nea,* correctly placed the responsibility for the existence of the new guerrilla movement when it said recently in an editorial: "The Vice-President and leader of the present government, Constantine Tsaldaris, and his colleagues, with their moronic policy, have been the best recruiting officers for the guerrillas. Unquestionably Tsaldaris has sent more men to the mountains than were sent from Yugoslavia. They are those who were beaten, those who were persecuted by state and quasi-state agencies, those who were dismissed without cause from their jobs. They are the farmers to whom the rightist local authorities would not give seeds to sow their fields; they are the men who were in the resistance movement and cannot return to their homes."

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ROLE OF BULGARIA AND YUGOSLAVIA

The new Greek guerrillas are carrying on a bitter, bloody, and just struggle against persecution, exploitation, and open fascist terror. But their cause is being hurt by the obscure and ambiguous attitude of the Bulgars and Yugoslavs, whom the Greek government accuses of instigating and supporting the guerrilla warfare.

Dimitrov and Kolarov are now in the driver's seat in Bulgaria. They no longer need the chauvinist slogans they once used to bring them to power, but they still mumble about "an outlet to the Aegean." In Yugoslavia the Macedonian Communist Dimiter Vlahov, who in 1924 split the I. M. R. O. and headed a faction that worked for a truly autonomous Macedonia within a Balkan federation, is now high in Tito's councils and is reported to be scheming again for "Macedonia for the Macedonians," this time as a federated state within Yugoslavia. The old idea of incorporating both Greek and Yugoslav Macedonia in Bulgaria has given way to the idea of bringing the entire region into Yugoslavia. By declining to declare frankly and clearly that they have no territorial claims against Greece, the Communist governments of Bulgaria and Yugoslavia make it easy for the Anglo-American bloc on the U. N. Commission to maintain that Greece's internal situation is mainly due to external factors.

Yugoslavia naturally granted refuge to E. L. A. S. refugees. Just as naturally, it urged many of those who were still in Yugoslavia when the new guerrilla army sprang up to return to Greece. Bulgaria naturally allowed the new guerrillas to cross its frontiers when they were pursued by the Greek army or gendarmerie.

Bulgarian and Yugoslav aspirations to expand southward have their source in old nationalist ambitions, ideological arrogance, and big-power politics. Neither government is sure about the Greeks. Tito and Dimitrov may think they can bully Zachariades into some kind of "autonomy" agreement, but they have a feeling that all Greeks, Communists and non-Communists, would unite to prevent its fulfilment. The Yugoslavs know that the new Greek guerrillas, like the old, are executing the "autonomist" agents who cross the border to take advantage of the unsettled conditions in Greece. That is why the Yugoslavs are not sending arms into Greece.

Little of all this was taken into consideration by the U. N. Commission. Nearly all its members had made up their minds before they arrived in Greece. The Anglo-Americans were determined to prove that the whole Greek guerrilla movement was inspired, directed, and armed by Yugoslavia and Bulgaria. The Russian bloc was equally determined to prove that it was strictly an inside job, and that the Yugoslavs and Bulgarians were blameless. Too often the Anglo-Americans and their satellites, insisting that the commission's terms of reference called only for an investigation of frontier incidents, deliberately choked off witnesses who were explaining why they took to the mountains. On the other hand, when Greek Slavs called by the Yugoslav liaison officers firmly declared that they were opposed to autonomy, the Yugoslavs closed the subject. Further questioning would have revealed that class as well as minority persecution was driving the Slavs in Greek Macedonia to the mountains.

The Greek government presented a miserable case. It failed to prove any of its charges conclusively. Most of its exhibits were crude forgeries. Its witnesses were prisoners under sentence of death, adventurers, criminals or men who were black marketeers during the occupation; one of them was a man who had deserted from the army during the Greek-Italian war in 1940-41.

MYOPIA OF THE U. N. COMMISSION

The commission did not study the Greeks' bizarre dream of a revival of their ancient glory, of a Greater Greece. It did not see the maps of the royalist right wing picturing a Greece which included half of Bulgaria, half of Albania, a good chunk of Yugoslavia, all of Turkish Thrace, Constantinople, and Asia Minor. It did not take note of the irredentist military league (the R. A. N.) which was organized in Athens during the German occupation by the Greek army's present chief of staff; or of the provocations suffered by Bulgaria in 1945, when Greek government leaders and the Greek press called for an immediate invasion of Bulgaria with the avowed aim of occupying the whole country and "setting the torch to Sofia." It paid little attention to the well-documented case against the Albanian quislings who fled to Greece after the German withdrawal and then returned to Albania in August, 1946, with weapons provided by the Greek army, to carry on underground activity against the government. It did not inquire as to the whereabouts and present activities of the Bulgarian war criminals whom E. L. A. S. had captured and turned over to the Greek government two years ago. It did not see the Chetnik officers who moved freely around Athens, in regular contact with the Greek general staff and the American military attaché's office.

The commission was too sunk in wishful thinking and self-deception to search earnestly for the truth. Its "terms of reference" barred from its consideration the studies of experts which show that the economy of northern Greece will collapse unless healthy trade relations with Bulgaria and Yugoslavia are established.

The commission watched the organized demonstrations of the Greek government, in which little children carried posters with nationalist and expansionist slogans written in English and French, but as their cars passed quickly through destroyed villages, they paid little heed to the ragged Greeks who flung themselves toward the cars and shouted, "We want peace."

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The Tacoma Agreement

BY CAREY McWILLIAMS

Los Angeles, May 20

THE action of the House Appropriations Committee in slashing the budget of the Department of the Interior—going so far as to cut the Bureau of Reclamation 58 per cent—has thrown Western Republicans into a state of panic. They know that unless the cuts are restored, the Democrats stand a good chance of recovering a number of the Congressional seats they lost in 1946. Apparently the Eastern wing of the Republican Party intends to sacrifice the political interests of the Western wing in an effort to win the Eastern states' large blocks of electoral votes. Once the Western Republicans might have acquiesced in such a scheme, but now their principal supporters have been compelled to line up with the proponents of large-scale reclamation and power projects in the West.

This new orientation of Western Republicans, which moves Governor Earl Warren of California to support Secretary Krug's budgetary requests for the Central Valley project, is exemplified in an agreement signed at Tacoma, Washington, on January 22, 1947, by the Washington Water Power Company, the Portland General Electric Company, the Pacific Power and Light Company, the Northwestern Electric Company, the Puget Sound Power and Light Company, and the municipally owned utility systems of Seattle and Tacoma. The agreement clearly recognizes that continued public-power development is essential to the expansion of industry in the Northwest. It declares that the federal government must furnish 318,000 kilowatts of new generating capacity between now and November 1, 1949, "to meet the present critical power-supply problem," and 1,565,000 kilowatts more by November 1, 1953. The signatories urged the government to make the necessary appropriations, including those for backbone transmision facilities, as rapidly as possible. A few years ago one would have been thought mildly balmy for suggesting that Kinsey Robinson, the adroit generalissimo of the private-utility interests in the Northwest, would ever join with municipal systems in memorializing Congress to increase its appropriations for the Bonneville Power Administration. But the signature of Mr. Robinson as president of the Washington Water Power Company is the first on the Tacoma agreement. General recognition by private-utility executives of the absolute necessity for further power development puts Western Republicans in a bad spot.

As early as May 2, 1946, Dr. Paul J. Raver, astute administrator of the Bonneville project, warned the private power interests of an imminent power famine in the Northwest, but they paid no heed. In fact, Kinsey Robinson testified before a subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Appropriations in March, 1946, that the Bonneville Power Administration had "a tremendous power surplus." Today, one year later, the Bonneville Administration cannot meet the demands of industry for power, and no substantial relief can be expected until 1952—and then only if the recent budget cuts are restored.

How does it happen that a power famine of this proportion has developed so rapidly in the Northwest? The chief reason is that the end of the war did not bring the expected cancelations of orders for power. Even the Bonneville Power Administration was caught somewhat off guard. As a result of the partial break-up of the monopoly position of the Aluminum Company of America, Reynolds and Kaiser in one year have required power in amounts that Bonneville expected would remain unused for perhaps three years. The availability of cheap power has also greatly stimulated its use in rural areas and for domestic purposes. A year or so ago, when I was in the Northwest, the Bonneville officials were dreaming up all sorts of new uses for power—for heating houses, running railroad trains, and so on. Today the use of electric power for house-heating has been pushed far into the future, for Bonneville cannot supply the prime industrial requirements of the region. Moreover, new industrial "loads" are clearly foreseen—the supersonic load, the electrolytic load, the chemical load, and the load of the new phosphate development in southern Idaho. Recently the Alcoa Mining Company announced its discovery of important deposits of laterite, a ferruginous bauxite, that will make possible a vastly expanded aluminum industry in the Northwest.

The same need for public power affects local politics on the West Coast. After the defeat in Washington of Initiative No. 166, which sought to hamstring the public-utility districts of the state, the private-utility interests tried to push a similar measure through the Washington legislature, which for the first time in years is controlled by the Republicans, but this tactic also failed. Oregon is not so strongly for public ownership as Washington, but support for public power is developing rapidly in many areas.

All of this does not mean that Western private-utility interests have capitulated. Having failed to obtain the privilege of buying power from government projects at the dam sites, they now seek to control feeder transmission lines and connecting systems. The Tacoma agreement, for example, urges appropriations for "backbone

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transmission facilities," that is, for the large transmission lines from the dams to the local centers. In his appearances before the Committee on Appropriations Mr. Robinson has made it clear that the private utility companies seek to control the transmission and distribution of power once it has reached the load centers. While these interests will not be displeased if their Eastern colleagues succeed in pushing through measures designed to force federal agencies to sell power at the dam sites, they know they must get more power some way, or else, in the near future, they will be unable to supply markets which they have long controlled.

Governor Warren's recent appearance before a House committee to urge appropriations for the Central Valley project and for the construction of transmission lines brought out clearly the new point of view of an important section of Western industry and business. The change does not, of course, imply conversion or consciousness of sin, but it reveals a new and realistic appreciation that public power has become indispensable to the industrialization of the West. For industry to expand in the Northwest, the supply of energy must be consistently developed in anticipation of demand. New sources of energy must therefore be planned years ahead of immediate needs. From the time an appropriation is first obtained, it takes at least five years to build a new dam and to instal generators. Today it is apparent that by 1955 the Northwest will require two and one-half times the present available supply of power. This means that plans for additional power installations at Grand Coulee, at Hungry Horse, at McNary, Foster Creek, and Snake River must go through on schedule, with no interruptions or delays. In view of the peculiar dynamics of Western industry, the cuts that have been made in the budget for the Department of the Interior are nothing short of calamitous and may, as Secretary Krug has warned, bring on a major depression.

At a recent meeting in Seattle a spokesman for the Republican Party in eastern Washington warned his audience that "what happens to reclamation is the biggest single issue on our side of the Cascades. If Republicans recognize the problems peculiar to our area, our fortunes will rise; if not, they will fall." The bigwigs of the Republican Party had better heed this warning if they expect to retain in 1948 the gains scored in the West in 1946.

"The American Question"

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

Moscow, May 15

THIS first fortnight of May was Moscow's festive season: May Day was celebrated for three days, and Victory Over Germany Day for two—nobody makes much song and dance about the victory over Japan. With the trees bursting into leaf almost overnight and the people changing from drab winter clothes to bright new summer garb, the general mood has suddenly improved. Everybody is planning vacations, or excursions down the Moscow-Volga Canal, where the pleasure steamers have started running.

The sufferings of the war years and the thrill of the victory over Germany still make a strong emotional appeal. On the night of May 9 a million people must have gathered in and around the Red Square to see the illuminations and hear the victory salutes—a much larger crowd than gathered there on May Day. Russia is faced with immense reconstruction difficulties, which are not underrated, but these holiday crowds in Moscow seemed to have confidence in the future as far as the country's internal progress is concerned. The government and the party have used every conceivable means to get the largest possible harvest this year; economically as well as politically this is a matter of the utmost importance. The snow was heavy all winter. In the south April was mild and rainy, and the old people in the villages say that it will be a good summer for crops. In anticipation of the harvest, bread, potatoes, and other commodities went down some 20 per cent in the open market in the past month. Consumer goods are in much greater supply, and ration stores have plenty of inexpensive cotton fabrics for summer wear. There are also more shoes, stockings, and household goods. Altogether there is a general feeling that with respect to consumer goods and food Russia's difficulties will soon be over. Housing is another matter; in war-damaged cities and large centers like Moscow the housing shortage will remain acute.

Much less reassuring is the international outlook, and the ignorant old women are already saying that Hitler is in America and is plotting against the Soviet Union with his American cronies. Awareness of "American imperialism" has spread through every layer of the Russian people. It is significant that of the hundreds of plays written since last autumn in conformity with the Central Committee's instructions, the play picked for production in more than 600 theaters throughout the country should have been Konstantin Simonov's "'Russian Question," which shows the struggle of a "good American" against the "bad Americans" who are plotting a new war against the Soviet Union.

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Obviously it is considered vitally important to make everybody extremely conscious of the "American question." As it is seen here, America is trying to infringe on the Soviet Union's lawful rights; in many places it is creating dangerous spearheads against the Soviet Union. I have not the space to enumerate all the media by which "American imperialism" is denounced. I have already mentioned the theater; incidentally, Simonov's play is being played not only in the Soviet Union but also in the Russian sector of Berlin, at the Max Reinhardt Theater—the American authorities are reported to have tried in vain to sabotage the production. The satirical journal *Krokodil* is now devoting much of its space to "American imperialism" and the weaknesses of "American democracy," of which the treatment of Negroes is called only one instance. There is anger over the Voice of America broadcasts—much greater anger than over the BBC's Russian broadcasts.

In hundreds of cinemas next week a new documentary on North Korea will be presented. Its dominant theme is that the Russians have a capacity for dealing with Asiatic peoples shown by no one else, least of all the Americans. Russians feel no racial superiority toward yellow, brown, or black people but are "like brothers to them." A people's government has been set up in North Korea. Land tenure has been reformed. Hundreds of schools are being opened for children and a thousand schools for adults, "to liquidate illiteracy." According to the film, "with an eight-hour day the Koreans are producing more than they did with a sixteen-hour day under the Japanese system of sweated labor." In the higher grades Koreans are now taught Russian, and we see a pretty little Korean girl writing the word "Stalin" on the blackboard. The film then demonstrates how this happy land of progress ("rice is more plentiful in North Korea than ever before") contrasts with South Korea. There one finds no land reform, no nationalization of industries, no eight-hour day. The country is run as it was under the Japanese by a "reactionary clique" with American protection. The South Korean sequences are shown to the accompaniment of gloomy funereal music. In South Korea the people are still nothing but coolies; in North Korea they are self-respecting citizens. Throughout the film runs the theme: the Thirty-eighth Parallel dividing North from South Korea is the dividing line between two worlds.

The statements by Marshall and Dulles and by Bevin are considered the most significant events since the conference. Dulles was perhaps more outspoken than Marshall, though little difference is found between their viewpoints. Bevin tried to argue that the conference was a step in the right direction, in the direction of compromise, but Dulles said, "Convictions are more important than compromises." In other words, two wills and two systems are facing each other in Europe—the Soviet will and the American will—and one must prove stronger than the other.

Typical, perhaps, was the Austrian reaction: One prominent Austrian who had come here for the conference wrung his hands and said, "The one thing we all prayed would not happen has happened: Austria has become the bone of contention between the great powers, between the United States and the Soviet Union. The chances of the occupation troops getting out are much worse now. A clash of wills can get us nowhere. Only a compromise can save us, and here is Dulles saying that European nations are more interested in convictions than in compromises. Jesus Maria! Austria is not interested in convictions. We want a quiet life. Can nothing be done to neutralize us so that we can live quietly like Switzerland?"

Bevin, on the other hand, no doubt with some domestic considerations in mind, was remarkably conciliatory, even cordial. Standing on the station platform with Vishinsky, he burst into song—"The more we are together the merrier we'll be"—and Vishinsky, grinning broadly, beat time like a bandmaster. In an aside Vishinsky said, "What a jolly, convivial man Minister Bevin is."

Decidedly, a change is in the air. Hardly anything is being said in the Russian press against Britain these days or against the British Empire. On the British policy in Egypt and Palestine the Russians are extremely discreet. Perhaps Bevin has seen the light? Whether he has or not, the Russians have suddenly realized that the Truman policy has become a cause of disquiet to the whole of Europe. A sort of mobilization of popular opinion against "American imperialism" is now beginning, somewhat like the mobilization of popular opinion against Hitler in 1934, only with probably better prospects of success. The Russians are gratified that half the Socialist Party in France wished to side with the Communists. They are gratified to learn that much hard thinking is being done inside the British Labor Party, which is obviously scared by the necessity for a new American loan.

When a member of the British government, Harold Wilson, Secretary of Overseas Trade, came to Moscow to prepare the ground for the Anglo-Soviet trade agreement, he was received with open arms. Mikhoyan personally presided over all nine plenary meetings of the British and Soviet experts and was "always available" during the three weeks Wilson was here. Wilson said before leaving that the Russians had been most friendly and charming and that valuable progress had been made. There will not be extensive Anglo-Soviet trade in the immediate future—there obviously cannot be—but a long view is taken by both sides, and "a very large Anglo-Soviet trade, much larger than before the war, is anticipated." Technical cooperation is being planned to put the Soviet timber industry on the same high level of mechani-

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zation as the North American timber industry, and Britain will supply a large part of the equipment: that is one of the significant results of the Wilson mission. Before long Russia may have food and tobacco to sell; cotton is already being shipped in substantial quantities. A number of technical and financial difficulties which discouraged some British firms from engaging in trade with Russia were eliminated during the Anglo-Soviet talks.

In short, various new political and economic friends are being acquired and are expected to counteract in some measure the Truman policy. Not every European, or Asiatic, country's political and economic interests coincide with America's, and these divergences are being brought into focus. To counteract by every possible means the conception of a *Pax Americana* is one of the principal objects of Russian foreign policy today. One cannot help feeling that Washington has made a serious mistake in creating an atmosphere in which such a drive against "American imperialism" has a fair prospect of success.

Terror in Taiwan

BY PEGGY DURDIN

Nanking, China

ON FEBRUARY 27 a policeman of the Taiwan (Formosa) Monopoly Bureau saw a woman selling smuggled cigarettes on the streets of the capital, Taipeh. When he tried to seize her tray and money, she pulled away, and he struck her a crashing blow on the head with his revolver butt. She died at his feet. An angry mob gathered, and the police shot into the crowd, killing one person and wounding others. Forthwith a year and a half of gathering hatred for an inefficient, autocratic, corrupt administration exploded into unarmed demonstrations against the mainland Chinese.

China put down the revolt with brutal repression, terror, and massacre. Mainland soldiers and police first killed thousands indiscriminately; then, more selectively, hunted down and jailed or slaughtered students, intellectuals, prominent business men, and civic leaders. Foreigners estimate that at least five thousand Taiwanese were killed, and executions are still going on.

Governor General Chen Yi has turned a movement against bad government into one against any Chinese government. Nanking has again demonstrated that its chief solution for political and economic crisis is force. In spite of a curtain of censorship and official misrepresentation, the tragic events that took place in Formosa in March are well known here.

The Chinese government owns, controls, and operates —for government profit and personal squeeze—almost the entire economy of Taiwan. One of the articles whose importation and sale are rigidly controlled is tobacco. Many Taiwanese street venders sell smuggled cigarettes. It was in the course of a campaign against the sale of smuggled goods that the woman was killed in Taipeh.

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The rioting which followed was not consciously revolutionary but was against the hated monopoly police, which symbolized for the people the government's exploitation of their island. Unarmed processions marched to the government offices to demand punishment of the policemen, compensation for the dead and wounded, and dismissal of the head of the tobacco monopoly. They beat to death two policemen in front of the tobacco monopoly's office and burned the stocks of tobacco. Police guarding the Governor's office raked the crowd with machine-gun fire without provocation.

Barricaded in its offices, the government lost control of the city. Shops closed. Transportation broke down. Mobs of Taiwanese, still unarmed, beat up a number of mainland Chinese and burned their possessions, though not their homes. Truckloads of police rushed through Taipeh's streets machine-gunning the demonstrators while Governor Chen Yi was busily broadcasting conciliatory promises. During this period not a single foreigner saw an armed Taiwanese.

With calculated trickery Chen Yi continued his efforts to appease the people while he waited for military reinforcements. On March 2, over the radio, he expressed his love for the Taiwanese, and promised that no one would be prosecuted for rioting, that the families of the dead would be compensated, and that he would appoint a committee to settle the incident. This group, composed of mainlanders and representative Taiwanese, most of whom have since been shot, was to be known as the "Committee to Settle the February 28 Incident" and was to present to him by March 10 their suggestions for the reform of the administration.

Though the efforts of the committee Taipeh and the nearby port of Keelung became quiet. Students patrolled the streets, keeping order. Many of these students are now dead.

Meanwhile the spark ignited in Taipeh had spread down the whole length of Taiwan. In the first few days

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of March the Taiwanese took over the administration of almost every city. As far as can be discovered, they seized control in most instances without the use of firearms. Violence was usually limited to beatings, though some officials were killed.

On March 7 Chen Yi's committee handed in its recommendations. Reasonably enough, they included the following: that Taiwan be given provincial, not colonial, status; that provincial magistrates and city mayors be elected before June; that a larger proportion of Taiwanese be given administrative, police, and judicial posts; that all special police be abolished and no political arrests be permitted; that freedom of press and speech and the right to strike be granted; that managers of all public enterprises be Taiwanese; that committees be elected to supervise these public enterprises and the factories taken over from the Japanese; that the trade and monopoly bureaus be abolished; that the political and economic rights of the aborigines be guaranteed; that Taiwanese be appointed to as many army, navy, and air-force posts in Taiwan as possible; that detained "war criminals" be released (Taiwan was part of the Japanese Empire for fifty-one years); that the central government repay Taiwan for the expropriated sugar and rice; that garrison headquarters be abolished "to avoid misuse of military might." These proposals were not presented as an ultimatum. They were clearly a basis for negotiation. Chen Yi had already agreed to most of the points.

At noon on March 8 the commander of the Fourth Gendarme Regiment told the committee that its demands for political reform were "proper," but asked that it withdraw its demand for the abolition of garrisons. He said, "I will guarantee with my life that the central government will not take military action against Taiwan." At this point, although most of the island was still in the hands of the people, Chen Yi could have reached an agreement with them which would have insured the Nanking government's continued control of Taiwan and the cooperation of the Taiwanese. He only needed to move honestly toward reform. But he had at no time any intention of establishing peace by compromise. This was revolt; he would crush it. He was obliged to temporize and deceive until his troops arrived.

On the afternoon and evening of March 8, without warning or provocation, the streets of Keelung and Taipeh were cleared with gunfire to cover the entry of mainland troops. These reinforcements consisted mainly of the Twenty-first Division, a Szechuan outfit with a reputation for brutality. In the next four or five days more than a thousand unarmed Taiwanese in the Taipeh-Keelung area alone were massacred. A year and a half earlier many of them had joyously welcomed the arrival of the Chinese troops. Now truckloads of soldiers armed with machine-guns and automatic rifles shot their way through the streets. Soldiers demanded entry into homes, killed the first person who appeared, and looted the premises. Bodies floated thick in Keelung harbor and in the river which flows by Taipeh. Twenty young men were castrated, their ears cut off, and their noses slashed. A foreigner watched gendarmes cut off a young boy's hands before bayoneting him because he had not dismounted from his bicycle quickly enough. The radio advised students who had fled from the city to return to their homes, but when they did so they were killed. Any prominent person was in grave danger.

By March 14 the killing had tapered off in Taipeh. In other cities the terror followed the same pattern.

While this legalized slaughter was at its height, Chiang Kai-shek told the audience at the weekly memorial service in Nanking that Taiwan would have constitutional rights "at an early date." The recent riots, he revealed reassuringly, were "instigated by Communists." He admonished the erring people of Taiwan to "abide by law and not become an instrument of traitorous cliques."

Terror has won temporarily in Taiwan; the island is sullenly quiet. At this writing Governor Chen Yi has not yet been dismissed, in spite of a resolution passed by the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang several weeks ago.* Chen Yi has important friends. Moreover, to dismiss him promptly would mean loss of face; it is more tactful to let him resign, in good time. A Taiwanese who had spent his adult life in anti-Japanese activity said to me bitterly during the height of the terror, "The Generalissimo won't dismiss Chen Yi now. That would be an admission that he and the government had made mistakes. But hundreds of Taiwanese die every day that Chen Yi saves face."

The Minister of National Defense, Pai Chung-hsi, sent by the Generalissimo to Taiwan to investigate the affair and "comfort" the mainland Chinese, has denied any reprisals against the Taiwanese; the rioters were simply pursued, arrested, and punished. There were no atrocities, he said, giving the lie to foreign eyewitnesses. "Chinese troops have been instructed by the government not to commit any atrocities; so it is not possible for them to commit any atrocities in Formosa or anywhere in China," he explained. While he admitted that there were defects in the Chinese administration of Taiwan, Pai blamed the revolt on Japanese influence and on the Communists. Not a single neutral observer, however, accepts Pai's or the Generalissimo's statement that Communists instigated or directed the riots. None believes that Communists have any influence at present in Taiwan. However, shortly after news of the massacre began to leak through to China, the Yenan radio claimed that hundreds of Taiwan soldiers in Kuomintang armies on the Shantung front were deserting to the Commu-

* Since Miss Durdin wrote, Chen Yi has been removed, and Dr. Wei Tao-Ming has been appointed governor of Formosa.—EDITORS THE NATION.

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nists. Certainly Chen Yi has followed the procedure most likely to cause the development of a flourishing Communist movement in Taiwan.

A group of Japanese-trained gangsters and *ronins* undoubtedly participated in the uprising, but they did not start it. Foreign observers in Taipeh state categorically that the sole cause of the revolt was the flagrant misrule of the Chinese mainlanders. The Taiwanese had repeatedly and fruitlessly petitioned for reform. It is not surprising that they finally acted.

Isabelita Has Lost Her Reason

BY KAY BOYLE

Paris, April 30

I DID not reach Spain in time for the anniversary of the Spanish Republic. I crossed the border on the morning of the sixteenth of April, two days too late. The words of commemoration which had been written up on the walls had been effaced long since, for a bare quarter of an hour after they were boldly written there by clandestine hands, I was later told, official hands had wiped them away. It was just after eight o'clock, and there were only two of us crossing that morning—an Englishman and I. The sun was brilliant, and instead of taking a taxi at the frontier, we got into the electric train which runs through the fields and villages to San Sebastian on the Sea. The wind was strong in the port town, and the waves broke high, flinging slaps of water and salty spray as high as the Paseo de la República, and as I walked there with the Englishman I thought of Isabelita. I knew she was in prison and that she had lost her reason, but I did not know any more.

From San Sebastian it is another fourteen hours to Madrid (and as each taxi leaves the North Station of the city, the police record the address to which the passengers have directed it to go). Within an hour I had learned from Spanish friends that there had been, about three weeks before, a new round-up of professional people and intellectuals. As usual, it had all been done very quietly, no word of it appearing in the press. Enrique Díaz, a former professor of the French Lycée of Madrid, had been picked up at his house, and his notebooks, containing the names and addresses of friends, had led to the arrest of others. (The husband of my friend, J—, had been taken, and now she had destroyed not only all personal letters and the address books she had kept over a period of years but also every doctor's prescription, every wedding announcement, and any other piece of paper which might bear an innocent name or address.) Still others had been rounded up wholesale in a cafe—as were Frenchmen in the days of the occupation—and even the bootblacks who happened to be shining shoes there at the moment had been taken along to jail as political offenders.

Another recent arrest had caused a great deal of surreptitious talk, J— said. Although the identity of the prisoner had not been divulged, rumor had it that he was a highly placed official. Packages were being sent to him at the Prisión Central de Alcalá de Henares addressed simply to "Señor the Unknown"; but the story persists that he is the chief engineer of the Constructora Naval, and that he was suspected of having passed on atomic information to a foreign power that has made no secret of its animosity to Franco Spain. When I asked J— about Isabelita, she said it would not be easy to see her. She and the other children, J— said, were at present being held incomunicado, and not even members of their families were permitted access to them.

That was the seventeenth, and at six o'clock that mornmorning four men were executed by a firing squad in the Retamares camp. On the eighteenth two entirely unrelated things happened: two more political prisoners were executed, this time at Alcalá de Henares, and a demonstration by the Falangist student organization (the S. E. U.) took place in downtown Madrid. Members of the S. E. U. (the Syndicate of Spanish Universities) paraded through the streets carrying an actual coffin, with a contrived corpse lying in it. Other Falangist students followed in the funeral cortège bearing lighted tapers and chanting: "Death to the King! Death to the King!" Opposition was shown them by the crowds in the street, and the police broke up the ensuing mêlée by bringing their sticks down right and left. That same day I talked with officials at our embassy about the possibility of seeing Isabelita, and they told me what they knew.

Isabelita Torralba is fifteen or sixteen years old, and she has become "mentally deranged as a consequence of the ill treatment" to which she was subjected during her stay in the Dirección General de Seguridad. This much, at least, seems to be clear. It is also known that Isabelita is one of a group of nine children—the three oldest are nineteen years old, the others between fifteen and eighteen—who have been accused of terrorism, and who are at present confined in the provincial prisons of Caraban-

KAY BOYLE, the well-known novelist, sends The Nation *frequent accounts of significant happenings in Europe.*

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chel Alto y Ventas. The children have not been condemned to death, one American official took great trouble to point out to me; but the prosecutor is expected to ask the death sentence for four of them and thirty-year prison terms for the other five. "People are apt to go off half-cocked on these matters," the American official said.

The same American told me more of the tragic story, and the part he told me went like this: When the children were first arrested they were held in isolation—in an isolation "so severe and inhuman," states the National Committee of United Socialist Youth of Spain, that several of the children, in this strict confinement, "contracted incurable diseases." Late in 1946 a delegation from the other political prisoners in the Prisión Central de Alcalá de Henares made a formal protest against the treatment being accorded the children. The prisoners then went on hunger strike for seven and a half days, at the end of which time the children were removed to another gallery, where living conditions were apparently somewhat more bearable. (But in the meantime, or before that, or somewhere along the way, Isabelita had managed to lose her reason.) And then, on Christmas Eve, it became known in the prison that the nine children were being punished, and were not to be allowed to partake of the special dinner which would be served the following day. So every prisoner in that wing refused to eat Christmas dinner if the children were not to have it too, but this time the authorities did not give in. So, because of a little group of children whose names are José Luis Sánchez Cano, Germán Sanz Esteban, Juán Arranz Lafont, Luis Berlinches Raso, Adolfo González Barona, Angel Goya Arroyo, José Yuste Garcia, Isabelita Torralba, and Luisa González Barona, none of the prisoners in that wing ate dinner on Christmas Day.

More of the story was told me by M—, who has been out of prison on parole since February, and who has seen children like them die. "In Spain," M— said, "three classifications of people are protected under present conditions. They are the military, the clergy, and the Falangists. Isabelita and the other children cannot appeal to any of the three." He said he had seen girls of Luisa's and Isabelita's age go out to their execution, walking two by two across the prison courtyard in the gray of the morning, like young girls on their way to school. "We could see them from our cells," he said. "Sometimes they passed close under our windows. We could see they had put their lipstick and mascara on, like cheap women. But they were not cheap women. It was their way of saying they were not afraid to die."

Tonight one more paragraph is added to the story. It is contained in a few lines on the front page of a Paris evening newspaper. Following the condemnation to death of three of the nine children on trial, Franco's Ministry of Foreign Affairs has found it necessary to make a public statement to the effect that under Spanish law sixteen years of age constitutes "penal majority." Therefore an accused of that age is, in the eyes of the law, fully responsible for his acts. "Cardinal Segura," says M—'s voice across the brilliant sunlight, "has been occupied barring from sacred communion people unchristian enough to attend dances. He has not had time yet to ask Franco for clemency for nine Spanish children who have been nearly a year in prison."

A military court, concludes the newspaper notice, will shortly determine what their fate will be.

In the Wind

IT GIVES this column the utmost pleasure to reproduce herewith extracts from a long editorial which appeared in the Boston *Herald* just fifteen years ago next week:

> The Democrats probably reelected President Hoover last night when they nominated Governor Roosevelt. . . . They have chosen a man who . . . is deficient in the qualities of leadership and statesmanship, and in character, ability, and intellectual impact, to . . . a score of other possible candidates, including Senator Walsh.
>
> Not since 1896 . . . has the party picked a candidate in whom the country has so little confidence. There is nothing in his career to justify a classification with his predecessors—Judge Alton B. Parker, Woodrow Wilson, James M. Cox, and John W. Davis. One of his most ardent supporters has said that he has never been associated with a man whose public career gave so little foundation for a speech of praise. . . .
>
> Republicans . . . think frankly that he is the weakest candidate in the Democratic Party. . . .
>
> What sort of campaign will Governor Roosevelt make? It is to be expected that he will have more to say about "the forgotten man" . . . The chances are that the Governor will dispense doctrines which are dear to the ["so-called progressives"] and will also woo the conservatives.
>
> We doubt that he will have the courage . . . to make an uncompromising fight for his political principles, if he has any.

ON THURSDAY, MAY 8, the United States Senate met at eleven o'clock in the morning, and its chaplain, the Reverend Peter Marshall, offered a prayer, which closed as follows: "Help us to do our very best this day and be content with today's troubles, so that we shall not borrow the troubles of tomorrow. Save us from the sin of worrying, lest stomach ulcers be the badge of our lack of faith. Amen." You can look it up in the *Congressional Record.*

THE CANADIAN INFORMATION SERVICE announces that a boycott of the eight-cent candy bar first organized by teen-agers in the Vancouver Island town of Chemainus is now spreading to many other centers across the country. It has already kicked back as far as wholesalers and distributors.

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind. One dollar will be paid for each item accepted.*]

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BREST-LITOVSK AGAIN?

SINCE the most important issue of our times is the relationship between Russia and the Western nations, we are more than justified in studying any aspect of it that can throw a ray of light on today's difficulties. One indispensable source is the collection of official documents on the early years of the Russian Revolution. I have recently gone through a lot of them. They are fascinating, and they serve to remind us again that there is nothing new in the present policy of "getting tough" with Russia. Among its possible many merits that policy certainly has not the merit of originality.

It began nearly thirty years ago. From the summer of 1918 until today stretches a period of misunderstandings and tension broken only by brief intervals of reconciliation when Russia joined the League and when it entered the fight against Germany on the side of the Allies. Let us jump back for a moment to the start of the trouble.

Toward the end of May, 1918, the first skirmishes take place between the Czechoslovak troops, acting as vanguard of the interventionist powers, and the Soviet forces. Later in the month the Allies land in Murmansk and among the landing forces is a small contingent of Americans. In a note dated June 12, Chicherin, People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs, charges an unprovoked act of intervention in the internal affairs of his country; Soviet officials are being arrested and sometimes even shot; Russian railroad guards have been disarmed; railroads and telegraphs taken under Allied control. Chicherin asks for the removal of foreign troops from Soviet territory and warns of "the feeling that is being developed among the wide masses of Russia by the unprovoked British invasion, and the results this feeling will have in the future." The Allied reply takes the form of a British coup d'état in Archangel that results in the overthrow of the local Soviet. A proclamation addressed to the "Peoples of Russia" by the British at Archangel assures them that the invaders "come as friends to assist in the struggle against Germany."

Chicherin knows better. He knows, among other things, that on December 23, 1917, twenty-four hours after the first session of the preliminary Brest-Litovsk conference, representatives of Great Britain and France met secretly in Paris to discuss the best way to finish with the Russia of the Soviets. A plan was worked out there by the experts of each country whose aim was the elimination of the Bolshevik regime. With this plan in mind, Chicherin's note protesting the Archangel coup is firm and even violent in tone. Some important British agents in Russia, fearing that intervention will more and more push the Russians into the hands of Germany, advise London to go slow. But official London believes that only "getting tough" with the Bolsheviks will bring results.

The Allies, in these days, are heading back toward 1917. The pattern was set at Brest-Litovsk by the gigantic General Hoffman, speaking in the name of the Imperial German Army, at a series of meetings with the Russians during which he used his fist on the "peace" table so energetically as to smash it to smithereens. Lenin, who wanted peace against the advice of his collaborators, fixed a limit to his desire; he was not going to allow General Hoffman to treat the Soviet regime and his country like a bunch of bushmen if he could help it. The czarist army had disintegrated; the people had demanded peace—and "seized" it. But the Red Army was already in the field, defending the revolution, and Lenin was prepared to go on fighting if he received some help from Russia's former Allies. The best hope was America. The All-Russian Congress of the Soviets had received a cable of sympathy from President Wilson; Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, had also sent an encouraging word. At the request of Colonel Robins (head of the American Red Cross Mission in Russia) Lenin agreed to draw up a formal note to the United States government asking, "in case (a) the All-Russian Congress of the Soviets refuses to ratify the peace treaty with Germany or (b) if the German government, breaking the treaty, renews the offensive in order to continue the robbers' raid, can the Soviet government rely on the support of the United States, Great Britain, and France?" Lenin's decision was held up to give time for a reply from Washington. No reaction; no reply. Silence may be also an expression of toughness.

War approaches its end. On the eve of the Armistice the Soviets try again to improve their relations with the Allies. On October 24, 1918, a long, reasoned letter is sent by Chicherin to Wilson. On December 2 a combined protest and peace proposal is sent to Great Britain, France, Italy, and the United States. On December 24, Litvinov from Stockholm sends another statement to Wilson. There follows an entire year of attempts by the Russians to arrive at some kind of modus vivendi. On December 5, 1919, the Seventh Congress of the Soviets adopts a resolution recalling all these earlier appeals and "once more confirms its unchanging desire for peace" by renewing its proposals for negotiations. Clemenceau rejects this offer on December 21 and insists on the policy of "economic encirclement of the Bolsheviks [in French the *cordon sanitaire*] and the organization of order by the Russian elements"—the Kolchaks and Denikins. The Allied policy toward Russia remains the same until the entire machinery of intervention breaks down with the rout of the counter-revolutionary armies.

Does this record of the earliest relations between Russia and the West explain the suspicion and hostility, the intransigence, that strangle those relations today? Perhaps only partly. Conflicting interests, conflicting social philosophies, are still major causes of trouble as they were in 1918. But no one who has been in Russia would deny that the "get-tough" tactics of the Allies in 1918, so long forgotten in the West, are still a living issue there. Nearly thirty years have passed. But in the last issue of the London *New Statesman and Nation* to reach my desk I read: "It seems clear that Mr. Marshall is relying on American toughness to prevail in a diplomatic war of attrition and to succeed in the end in extracting compromises from the U. S. S. R. The indications so far are that the U. S. S. R. will go on meeting toughness with toughness."

DEL VAYO

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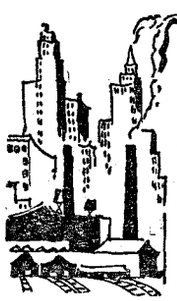

EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

Financing the Monnet Plan

THE first operation of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development—a $250,000,000 loan to France—is designed to forward both objectives included in the bank's title. For if France is to regain its position as a pillar of European economy, and to provide an adequate standard of living for its people, it must proceed beyond a mere reconstruction to the development of new resources and the increase of productivity above pre-war levels. In the period between the two world wars French industry and agriculture stagnated. Too large a proportion of national savings was swallowed up in providing for defense, and investment in modern equipment was insufficient to keep France abreast of other industrial countries. In the thirties production in Britain, Scandinavia, and other European countries recovered from its depression lows to reach levels higher than in 1929. In France it never did, as the following table shows:

	1929	*1938*
Coal production (million tons)	55.0	47.6
Steel " "	9.7	6.2
Cement " "	5.3	3.8
Rail freight (million tons transported)	224.0	133.0

The effects of the Second World War on an already weakened economy were devastating. Population was reduced by 1,400,000; property damage was enormous; stocks of raw material—working capital—were completely exhausted; industrial equipment seriously deteriorated owing to lack of proper maintenance for five years; the transport system was half wrecked; the very soil was badly depleted by lack of fertilizer. Considering all these factors, the degree of recovery achieved since liberation is truly remarkable. By the end of 1946 the volume of production had risen to about 90 per cent of the pre-war figure and the volume of exports to 75 per cent.

But recovery is not enough; it must be followed by expansion if the French people are to realize true economic security. Early this year, therefore, the French government adopted a four-year program of development drawn up by a great body of experts headed by M. Jean Monnet. This plan aims to raise the national production level 30 per cent above the 1938 figure by 1950 and to this end proposes the investment of a sum equivalent to $18,900,000,000 during the next four years. For the most part, expenditure is to be concentrated on six key sectors of the economy—coal, power, steel, building materials, agricultural machinery, and transport. The modernization of these industries, the raising of their output, and the increased productivity per capita of the workers they employ will, it is believed, stimulate greater activity in all directions.

The capital required to finance the Monnet Plan will be derived to the extent of 84 per cent from domestic sources. That means that savings over the next four years must equal about 20 per cent of the net national income, a very high proportion for a country as poor as France now is. For the sake of a future improvement in living standards, the French people are being asked to restrict present consumption to little more than bare essentials.

Fulfilment of the Monnet Plan will not be possible without large imports of coal and oil, raw materials, and machinery of all kinds, most of which will be bought in the United States. Orders amounting to $700,000,000 for such equipment as locomotives, freight cars, tankers, tractors, and power plants have already been placed, and tentative schedules call for further purchases totaling $1,230,000,000. But the French balance of international payments is heavily adverse at this time, and the restoration of equilibrium through the expansion of exports can hardly be expected before 1950. Imports of capital goods, therefore, must be paid for by the mobilization of external resources. The liquidation of foreign investments and other overseas assets, together with the partial proceeds of existing loans from the United States and other countries, will, it is anticipated, furnish about $2,170,000,000. This leaves some $850,000,000 to be raised by new credits, or $600,000,000 after taking into account the loan just granted by the International Bank.

The problem of the external financing of the Monnet Plan, therefore, remains to be solved. And this is only one of many formidable obstacles to its successful completion. Among these coal supply takes a foremost place. By heroic measures the output of the French mines has been pushed above the pre-war level, but this source was never adequate for French needs. In order to maintain industrial production, let alone increase it, larger coal imports must be obtained. But where are they to be found while fuel shortages hinder recovery throughout Europe?

Another major difficulty is lack of man-power. In order to fulfil the Monnet Plan nearly 1,000,000 new workers must be recruited before 1950. Efforts are therefore being made to persuade hitherto unemployed women to enter industry, and agreements are being negotiated for the immigration of foreign workers, particularly Italians. It is also hoped that some of the German prisoners of war, who must shortly be released, will be induced to stay in France as free workers. But even if all these and other measures being taken succeed, the labor supply will hardly equal the demand.

Even more momentous for the success of the Monnet Plan is the solution of the political problem that it poses. Commenting on this aspect of the program, the London *Economist* of December 14, 1946, asked: "How far will a sovereign people, in peace time, allow its rulers to impose upon it more effort and less consumption than it would choose, on its own initiative, as a collection of individuals?" In other words can democratic economic planning which calls for voluntary acceptance by the workers of long hours and frozen wages, and by the population at large of burdensome taxation, rationing, and shortages of all kinds, be successfully achieved? The future of European democracy depends, in a large measure, on the answer which France and other nations find for that question.

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BOOKS and the ARTS

NOTES BY THE WAY

BY MARGARET MARSHALL

IN "THE BIG SKY" (William Sloane Associates, $3.50) A. G. Guthrie, Jr., has attempted to recreate the landscape and the life of the early Northwest, the West of the fur trapper and the voyageur. It is an authentic subject—for the emotional impact of the Far Western experience is still unspent and so far has remained part of the unfinished business of art. The creative imagination of a Mark Twain seized upon the rough stone of another phase of American experience and handed it back in its intrinsic, final, and therefore possessable form. The essence of the Far Western experience has yet to be extracted and possessed.

The landscape, for lack of a larger word, is the central theme of "The Big Sky." Scattered through the great expanse of mountains and forests and river valleys are the mountain men, the traders, French boatmen plying the streams, the Indians at war and peace, who are Mr. Guthrie's dramatis personae. Three mountain men and an Indian girl are his principal characters, of whom Boone Caudill and Teal Eye occupy the foreground.

The characterization of the three mountain men is carried out by contemporary and realistic means, including the stream-of-consciousness technique for revealing their thoughts and feelings. Bernard De Voto assures us that Mr. Guthrie's delineation is accurate, that this is actually "how they were, how they lived, most of all how they felt." Perhaps. The trouble is that, however well Mr. Guthrie understands them, his rendering of their thoughts and feelings is not very convincing. I doubt whether any contemporary rendering could be. It would be almost impossible not to ascribe to them, as Mr. Guthrie often seems to do, the thoughts and feelings about the early West of a present-day American. The fact that the two sets of thoughts and feelings may be similar only complicates the problem. As for his handling of the romance of Caudill and Teal Eye, it is, to say the least, anachronistic.

As I have indicated, the landscape is the object and motivation of the emotional drive out of which Mr. Guthrie writes. At times, notably in the account of men marooned in a mountain pass in winter, he succeeds in communicating its reality. And the reality turns out to be a fabulous realm of snow and peak and sky of which the most fabulous element of all is a rock goat, alive and real, yet also an emanation of the ghostly landscape. The human characters here become mere figures in the landscape pointing up its overwhelming presence, yet are none the less real. This is the best passage of the book and I think it is no accident that it takes on a legendary quality.

Throughout the book it is the characters who are allowed to remain figures in the landscape who seem most real. The Indians, whose stream of consciousness Mr. Guthrie does not attempt to plumb—including Teal Eye, except when she is drawn too far into the orbit of her white man's consciousness—are more convincing than the three mountain men on whom he spends so much effort and space. (The little beaver trying to free herself from the trap, whose eyes remind Boone of Teal Eye, is more completely realized, in a couple of paragraphs, than Teal Eye herself. Mr. Guthrie does very well with animals.)

I can't help feeling that Mr. Guthrie has applied the realistic technique to material of which the reality cannot be captured by the documentary method. This method serves him well in one respect. The brutality and the plain squalor of life in the early West come through. On the other hand, one suspects that its rather solemn and pedestrian compulsions inhibit him in another respect. Though a few tall tales are spun around campfires, he makes very little use of the humorous myth-making which was and still is a constant and deeply indigenous American way of coping with the overwhelming presence.

The realistic approach, the technique of dogged documentation, has a prestige akin to that of virtue in this country. Yet the American fiction which has survived and will survive is the fiction which may and usually does start off on the ground, along "a bright trail of fact," as if in propitiation, but ends in the fabulous. Melville and Mark Twain were realists in that they dealt with contemporary reality. But "Moby Dick" and "Huckleberry Finn"—and "The Great Gatsby," to take a more recent example—are fables, not documentaries. Aspiring writers should learn this, and let themselves go.

Mr. Guthrie's mountain men would be more believable if they were more legendary—by which I do not mean romantic. As it is they are not only unconvincing; they impose upon the wilderness, and they narrow the dimensions and wonder of the big sky. Mr. Guthrie is a competent and sensitive and conscientious writer. But the spirit of the West, whatever it was, has escaped him—partly I think because he used a realistic trap.

I went to the ballet at the City Center the other evening. I noted ruefully that the rows in front of me were only half filled, but hoped for the best. The worst ensued. Throughout the performance of the first number late comers, all of whom seemed preternaturally tall, slow, and awkward, stumbled into their seats —they always have seats in the middle of a row. They whispered, they panted from hurrying, they looked around to take their bearings as if they had been standing on a peak in Darien. By the time they had all helped remove each other's coats, had squirmed, sighed, and settled, the ballet was over. A least I assumed so because I heard clapping. I hadn't seen anything but a few stray motions of the dancers, glimpsed through the far less skilful but all enveloping motions of the late comers. And then of course it was time for them to move in reverse. They must get out into the lobby in order to come in late for the second ballet. At that point I yielded the field. Seeing the ballet at the Metropolitan, I might add, is beset by the same hazards, with the ushers aiding and abetting.

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A friend of mine who has protested to City Center against being subjected, along with hundreds of other people, to the maddening interruptions and eruptions of not one or two but dozens of late comers, has been told that it is a "ticklish situation," that it is not legal to keep ticket holders out, that City Center patrons are a "pretty mixed lot" who feel that the Center is an informal place, that it is hard to get anywhere in New York on time, that when people are held in the lobby a representative of the press is likely to appear and demand admittance, that perhaps the answer lies in slow education!

All of which becomes ludicrous when you discover that at City Center, as at Carnegie Hall, people who arrive late at symphony concerts are held outside until they can be admitted without interrupting the performance.

Sometimes it *is* difficult to get to a performance on time. It is also sometimes difficult to get to a railroad station on time. Yet, as my friend points out, a railroad doesn't worry about late comers, and as a result of fast education relatively few people miss trains, and if they do they never think of reproaching the management. Yet railroad patrons are a pretty mixed lot.

People who go to the ballet and the opera are surely capable of understanding why they should not be admitted in the middle of a performance. It is too much perhaps to expect that they will insist on being kept out, but the idea that they will object is ridiculous. And no newspaper is going to penalize City Center for not allowing its critic the privilege of coming in late.

The people who are really entitled to the solicitude of the management are not the late comers but those who arrive on time—and the performers themselves. To dance or sing before an audience which is carrying on a noisy undirected performance of its own, complete with the double shuffle and the flying leap, cries of pain, and excuse-me-pleases, must be very trying. I wish the unions involved would specify, among other minimum working conditions, a relatively quiet and stable auditorium. If it would eliminate the people who go not to see the ballet but to be seen—and heard—seeing the ballet, the financial loss would surely be small, and it would be a gain in every other way.

Oil and Politics

THE UNITED STATES AND THE NEAR EAST. By E. A. Speiser. Harvard University Press. $2.50.

AMERICANS know that they are up to their necks in the politics of the Near East, but few of them are well informed about the history and problems of that region. The editors of the American Foreign Policy Library did well therefore to choose this subject for the second volume of their series. They did even better when they persuaded Professor Speiser to write the book, for he combines a profound knowledge of the region's historical background with an acute understanding of its current affairs. Moreover, he has approached his task with a cool objectivity that contrasts pleasantly with the superheated emotionalism of much contemporary discussion of the Near Eastern question.

For the purposes of this book Professor Speiser rather arbitrarily considers the Near East as coincident with the territories of the Arab League nations plus, of course, Palestine. This area, he believes, is the new "strategic center of gravity" of the world—the point where the interests of the great powers converge and conflict. Here Britain has long been dominant, protecting its communications with the Far East, blocking the advance of Russia toward warm waters. And now the United States has appeared on the scene because as a world power it cannot ignore so politically tender a spot, because it has a major interest in Arabian oil, and because, in the new air age, the Arab lands are as much an international crossroads as they were in the age of caravans.

Stimulating, and stimulated by, the rivalries of the great powers are the boiling passions of the pan-Arab movement. This is a phenomenon sometimes treated as an artificial growth. Professor Speiser, though he recognizes the dynastic and sectarian obstacles to Arab unity, does not agree. He is impressed by the influence which the Arabs, by virtue of their historic prestige, exercise in the great Moslem belt which runs

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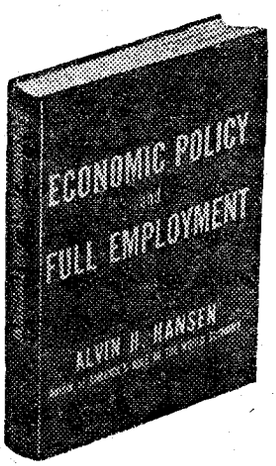
(N. Y. Times Book Review)



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from Gibraltar to Singapore. Nevertheless, he does not support Arab claims to Palestine. The problem of the Holy Land, he declares, can only be solved by compromise, with all three interests involved—the Jews, the Arabs, and the British—making concessions. Such a solution will only be feasible if it has real international authority to back it.

On Palestine as on other Near Eastern questions Professor Speiser believes that America should pursue a more independent policy that it has in the past. Such a policy, he writes, "based on enlightened self-interest, may reduce general tension. But automatic American support of British policy in the region threatens to increase tension to the explosive point."

This book, it will be realized, is extremely topical, and like all topical books these days it has already been overtaken by events and needs revision. In view of developments in the last few months, for instance, it is no longer possible to speak of the United States as a junior partner in the exploitation of Arabian oil. Under American pressure the former British policy of restricting development has collapsed.

KEITH HUTCHISON

Family Portrait

AN AMERICAN DYNASTY. By John Tebbel. Doubleday and Company. $3.

THE strange clan—spell it with a *K* if you like—which peddles the Chicago *Tribune,* the New York *Daily News,* and the Washington *Times-Herald* to buyers of advertising space and to a huge cross-section of America has been posed by John Tebbel, a former newspaperman, for an anything but flattering family portrait in this well-written book.

Here is the story of the publishing Medills, McCormicks, and Pattersons, and no more fantastic yarns could be dreamed up by the writers for the Sunday *News* than are told here by Mr. Tebbel in documented detail. Mr. Tebbel is rightly concerned with the survival of what Henry Luce's $200,000 committee recently called "A Free and Responsible Press." His conclusion, however, after brooding over the antics of the essentially ignorant, hopelessly prejudiced, decidedly obnoxious persons who have such a seeming power over public opinion, is in reality no more helpful than the conclusions of the Luce committee—namely, that the newspaper publishers should clean up their own house. There is consolation in the fact that, as the author points out, the influence of the McCormick-Patterson axis in terms of politics is "negligible." To get a man or a measure soundly licked all you have to do is to get the indorsement of the Chicago *Tribune.* Consider the Chicagoan who announced that he was 100 per cent *for* coronary thrombosis —because he had read an attack on it in the "world's greatest newspaper." Yet Mr. Tebbel concludes that the American press can only be free "by ending the abuses of its freedom perpetrated by its own members." Which is like asking the Kluxers to throw away their nighties, burn down their Klaverns, and hand over their treasury to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Zionist Organization of America. The awful truth is that there ain't no such animal as a "free and responsible press," not even the New York *Times,* as Mr. Tebbel freely admits. Not under any system of "free enterprise" which makes millionaires out of dope peddlers, and "molders of public opinion" out of night-riding bigots. But cheer up, folks, Congress hasn't yet passed a law making it compulsory to read the *News* or the *Tribune* or the *Times-Herald.*

MCALISTER COLEMAN

Man's Burden

AM I MY BROTHER'S KEEPER? By Ananda K. Coomaraswamy. An Asia Press Book. John Day Company. $2.25.

IF BY being "my brother's keeper" we mean the white man's burden, the right and duty to impose upon benighted natives our own idols—gadget worship, the profit motive, the party system, and an exclusive theology—then the answer of Ananda K. Coomaraswamy is an emphatic no. He is a skeptic —and so am I—even about universal literacy, which we mistake for universal education. His challenge is well worth pondering, even by advanced liberals. Many are advocating a world state in which representation would be weighted

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according to Western standards: industrial output and literacy. The Nazis were industrialized and literate.

But in another sense, according to Coomaraswamy, I am my brother's keeper. He believes in cultures which are happy because they have reached equilibrium: everyone knows his place. He even upholds the caste system, so dear to the Admirable Crichton. In such a community a non-conformist spoils the pattern and should be discouraged. We are familiar with this philosophy: it is that of the British Tories, of Marshal Pétain, and of the Un-American Committee. The remedy is to break up the reactionary and totalitarian idol of the anthropologists, *culture,* and to invite the whole world, not to be like ourselves, but to seek with us. It might spoil Bali, or Barchester. But it might help India as a whole.

The gist of the last essay—Gradation, Evolution, and Reincarnation—is found in the words of Schrödinger: "Consciousness is a singular of which the plural is unknown." This leads to solipsism as well as to pantheism. Metaphysics, like theology, is a paradox, because it attempts to express in human terms that which lies beyond human thought. The only valid metaphysical approach is that of the mystic, and as Ernest Hello put it, the only proper language of the mystic is silence.

ALBERT GUÉRARD

Outside of History

CHRIST STOPPED AT EBOLI. By Carlo Levi. Farrar, Straus and Company. $3.

PLOT is always the essential—even, or perhaps especially, when it is so subdued as to seem negligible or secondary. When moments are big, it is the context that enlarges them. Overtly, "Christ Stopped at Eboli" is merely sensitive reporting of a year (1935-36) spent in exile by a cultured Italian anti-Fascist. Most of the book consists of description of the daily life and mind of the peasants who live in Gagliano, a village in Lucania, where Christianity—in its ancient or its modern version—has never become an integral form in life. Thus, to some extent outside of history, the peasants are pictured carefully, with interest, in detail. The silent plot of the book, however, resides in the attempt of "history" or "Christian civilization" or "consciousness"—in the person of Mr. Levi—to *see,* or establish continuity with, something that is very much not itself. The product of this attempt is a new kind of modern lyricism: the book is a well-wrought, lyrical vase.

There are two very striking aspects of this new lyricism: one is its great objectivity—the calm, almost total submission to the reality of the Other; the second is the silent, pervading dream quality which is created by this admission of an alien but genuine reality. Considering the material dealt with—the submerged, hopeless lives of peasants whose chief and almost exclusive relation to the civilization of the West (which we so much treasure) has been that of a deadly, even senseless exploitation—considering this, the rather complete lack of tension in the book is surprising. Its primary quality is charm! And Mr. Levi seems to represent, quite adequately, moreover, the highest expression of Western values. Justifiably one might expect an explosion—at least in Mr. Levi, if not in the peasants. But on the contrary the two come together as

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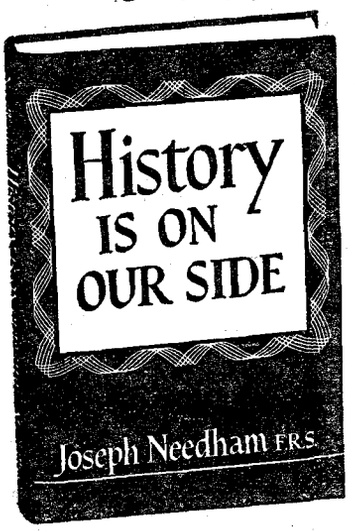

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lovers, with satisfaction. Essentially, I think, Mr. Levi was fulfilled by a thrilling awareness of the peasant sense of timelessness and death (p. 255, read in relation to his failure of will as a doctor). And the peasants were able, in their own way, finally to incorporate Mr. Levi into their pattern of life as a symbol of future good from the Christian civilization which had heretofore always manifested itself as a vile but powerful thief. They made of him a kind of witch-doctor.

I believe Mr. Levi got the best of the bargain, as is clear from the book. He had cleaned out of him enough of the Christian world to be able to perceive the basic meanings that that world attempts—so successfully—to deny. But this denial can never match the eternal *willingness to wait* of the underworld of instinctual reality. The peasants of Lucania have waited more than two thousand years. Mr. Levi seems to be saying that this fact is not to be bewailed too loudly, that it is perhaps just as well that Christ stopped at Eboli. But one likes to think that it would have been good if he had traveled farther, even all the way to Gagliano. One likes to think that he might have learned something from the peasants there. DAVID T. BAZELON

Next week: MARVIN LOWENTHAL will review "Behind the Silken Curtain," by Bartley C. Crum.

Fiction in Review

THE publishers of Herman Wouk's novel about the radio business, "Aurora Dawn" (Simon and Schuster, $2.75), announce that they are going to put a new, more modest jacket on the book. I suppose we must acknowledge this achievement as all to the credit of the reviewers. They have been pretty unanimous in objecting to Simon and Schuster's claim that Mr. Wouk has rescued the beautiful English language from Hemingway and restored it to the tradition of Fielding. But while I join in rejoicing that an author is going to be allowed, however belatedly, to make his way without the embarrassment of excessive promotion, I am afraid I cannot become very excited about this token of the wholesome influence of the reviewers upon our literary life. The critics neglected several rather important opportunities in the case of "Aurora Dawn." They did not point out, for instance, that Mr. Wouk's eighteenth-century affectations are pretentious and immature, that stylization is never style, and that there is something wrong with a society which thinks it is. Nor did they point out that the selection of "Aurora Dawn" by the Book-of-the-Month Club indicates that Mr. Wouk's mistakes have a considerable cultural backing.

Mr. Wouk should most certainly be spared the advertising genius of his publishers. But he should also be saved from the perversion of his own pleasant gifts. Behind the rosy anachronisms of "Aurora Dawn" there would seem to be a nice talent for light fiction; and a talent for light fiction is no drug on our market. Of course, the reason we have no decent light fiction in this country is because we respect no literary work that is not heavy with portent or pretension. Mr. Wouk gives us plenty of evidence that he could write simple colloquial English if he thought it desirable. He is naturally witty. He is well educated. It is the sad mark of our times that he should nevertheless find it necessary or favorable to roll in the full periods of a bygone prose and display his book learning like a sophomore.

This perjury of a talent proceeds, of course, from the same intellectual unease that manifests itself throughout our culture. Mr. Wouk, it is important to note, affects his eighteenth-century manner chiefly in his chapter titles and in his pages of discursive comment, not in his pages of straight narrative. He uses it, that is, as a device for ridding his story of intellection and moralization, for separating plot and commentary. He wants to take sides on his subject and to make moral and intellectual comment on his situations and characters; he therefore turns to the manner of a century which expected the novelist to do just this; and because the style of these excursions is so flamboyantly out of date, he is not only forgiven the excursions but celebrated for his style. How different would have been the response if he had taken it for granted that he had the right to digress from his narrative, and if he had incorporated his comments directly and colloquially into his story! He would have been accused of the very faults of which he is now guilty but of which he would then have been innocent. He would have been told he was pretentious, over-intellectualized, old-fashioned.

Obviously what is involved here is a deep distrust, on the part not alone of Mr. Wouk but of our whole literary culture, of mind. We feel that mind has no rightful place in fiction. If it insists upon intruding itself, we demand that it not try to act as if it belonged but that it proclaim itself a rank outsider—a comic echo from a past age. And it is

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this distrust of mind, this profound unease about our ideas and our relation to the people to whom we address our ideas, that accounts for the extremes of barrenness and sonority in current writing, for our inability to create a clear, honest, flexible contemporary prose.

Similarly—and this is the connection between Mr. Wouk's anachronistic style and the self-consciousness with which he parades his learning, his endemic references to the Hundred Best Books—we are very uncomfortable about education. We should like to think that knowledge is a private affair, but we know it is also a form of authority and power. And if it is power, best to wear it like a badge.

The fact that Mr. Wouk has to go back to the eighteenth century to find a style which permits him to make moral comment on his story does not mean that ours is any less a moral literary age than the eighteenth century. Quite the contrary; I doubt that there has ever been a period that matched ours for its fictional breast-beatings and threshings of conscience. But "Aurora Dawn" is not typical of the contemporary novel in this respect. That other novel about radio, "The Hucksters," is far more so. Mr. Wakeman was concerned with his share in the sins of radio; whereas Mr. Wouk, with commendable self-respect, does not believe himself to blame for this evil—except, perhaps, in so far as every member of society shares all its responsibilities. Indeed, it is precisely because Mr. Wouk wished to keep a moral distance between himself and his subject that he had to borrow a style so distant in time.

I have dealt only with the prose and pose of "Aurora Dawn," to the neglect of its story. For the most part the story is neat enough—a matter of a young radio executive who has to choose between his true love and the daughter of his chief sponsor. The book ends with Mr. Wouk's hero reunited with his true sweetheart and saving his soul by departing from the radio business entirely. I must pause, however, over the instrument of this salvation. Young Andrew Reale has come to fame by signing up for the Aurora Dawn programs a certain Reverend Stanfield, a Virginia preacher who captures the American radio audience by combining a short sermon with a public confessional; his followers come on the air to announce their misdoings and be forgiven. But this preacher and program, although they have their comic aspects, are not presented as part of the nonsense of radio. They are offered in salutary opposition to the cheapness and lack of integrity of the president of Aurora Dawn and his other programs. In other words, just as Mr. Wakeman answered radio with an apocalyptic dedication to art, Mr. Wouk answers radio with evangelistic religion. Perhaps even more than his affectations of manner, this false vision of virtue makes one hesitant about Mr. Wouk's future of comic seriousness. The good comic-serious writer lives by common sense, not by big gestures of the spirit. DIANA TRILLING

Drama Note

THE TELEPHONE" and "The Medium" are two operas in English by the Italian American composer Gian-Carlo Menotti. The second was first performed last year at Columbia University, and both are now being presented at the Barrymore Theater in a production made by the Ballet Society. They come within my province since they are being offered to theatergoers as experiments in music drama and since I found them interesting as such. The first is merely a curtain-raiser which is hardly more than a superior sort of revue sketch, but the second, billed as a tragedy, is both ambitious and original.

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fake spiritualist who falls victim to a fear of her own ghosts, and certain of the scenes, notably that of the seance rigged up for her dupes, are grotesquely very effective. I speak hesitantly of the music, which I am not competent to judge, but it struck me as both melodious and, especially, expressive; so that the emotional effect of the rather sketchily written text was often quite powerful. The conception of the text is better than its rather fumbling development, but I gladly joined the audience in hearty applause.

Whether music drama of this sort can ever find a real place in our theater I do not know, but it is worth experimenting with. American playwriting seems to be dying of its own prosiness. If we can't get poetry, we might try music. JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

THE Spanish idiom, as Falla uses it with twentieth-century sophistication and fastidiousness, loses much of its vitality; and his works, for me, are exquisitely fashioned and moderately enjoyable miniatures. Of these, "El Amor Brujo" has been recorded for Victor by Stokowski with the Hollywood Bowl Orchestra and Nan Merriman (Set 1089; $3.85), and for Columbia by Reiner with the Pittsburgh Symphony and Carol Brice (Set 633; $4).

Stokowski's performance occasionally has more verve and more supple grace than Reiner's and more tonal beauty, and also occasionally the characteristic excesses of emphasis, inflection, and manipulation of beautiful tone that distort the shape of the music; however even Reiner's more straightforward performance is not without its fussy details. Both singers are excellent; but Miss Brice's American enunciation of the Spanish *t* grates on my ears. The Reiner performance is reproduced with sharper distinctness of detail, and also with sharp stridency of the violins; the recorded sound of the Stokowski performance has more natural softness, warmth, and luster. And finally the Columbia surfaces are not perfect, but the Victor surfaces are disturbingly noisy, and a couple of the Victor sides waver in pitch.

Chopin's E minor Piano Concerto is one of his loveliest works; but the F minor—which Rubinstein has recorded for Victor with the N. B. C. Symphony under Steinberg (Set 1012; $4.85)—I find extremely uninteresting. And the hectic, brash playing of the orchestra in the first movement sets the stage for the exaggeratedly impassioned and mannered playing of Rubinstein throughout. The performance is well-reproduced; surfaces are poor.

On a single disc (11-9414; $1) Victor offers *Pari siamo* and *Cortigiani, vil razza dannata* from "Rigoletto," sung by Leonard Warren with an orchestra under Weissmann. Warren's baritone is a delight to the ear when, in the quieter passages, he gives it to us in modeled phrases, but not when he hurls it at us in a deafening mass, which the Victor engineers make worse by stepping up the volume-level. The performance is well-reproduced; the surfaces of my copy are very noisy.

On another single (11-9262; $1) is Piston's Prelude and Allegro for organ and orchestra—the Prelude with some agreeable passages among the sour, the Allegro rattling along characteristically with a lot of rhythmic zigzagging in place of interesting ideas. The performance by Biggs and the Boston Symphony under Koussevitzky seems good and is well-reproduced.

Victor also has issued five more records in its Heritage Series of red vinylite pressings ($3.50 each) of recordings made by the legendary singers of the past. McCormack's voice and phrasing are a delight in the duet *Parigi, o cara* from "La Traviata" (15-1009), which he sings with Bori, whose voice has its 1914 freshness, but whose singing already has the tremulous archness that was to become unendurable. On the reverse side, which is somewhat noisy, McCormack sings with Sammarco in an undistinguished performance of the duet *Ah, Mimi, tu più non torni* from "La Boheme."

Those of us who have heard Rosa Ponselle, Rethberg, and Milanov will not be bowled over by Boninsegna's voice in *O cieli azzuri* from "Aida" and *Ma dall' arido stelo divulsa* from "Un Ballo in Maschera" (15-1006; a little noisy)—a clear and powerful dramatic soprano which she uses with impressive authority and style, and occasionally with the liberties in tempo and phrasing that those old singers permitted themselves. I have heard early recordings by Amato (a superb "Trovatore" duet with Gadski) in which his voice has its youthful richness; but in the 1913 recordings of arias from Verdi's "I Due Foscari" and Franchetti's "Germania" that Victor has issued (15-1005) it has the hardness and dryness and strain that it had when I began to hear him in 1914. I find myself unimpressed by Gerville-Réache's voice, a good contralto, or her style in the Habanera from "Carmen" and the Song of the Tiger from Massé's "Paul et Virginie" (15-1008; quite noisy). And I am at a loss to understand the release of Plancon's recordings of an aria from "The Magic Flute" and two trashy little encore songs (15-1007; extremely noisy).

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Letters to the Editors

A Life of de Leon

Dear Sirs: I am preparing a work on the life and times of Daniel de Leon and should appreciate hearing from anyone possessing letters of his. All letters will be treated with the utmost care and returned promptly. I am also eager to learn of experiences and anecdotes from those who knew de Leon. My address is 167 East Thirty-third Street, New York 16, N. Y.

LOUIS LAZARUS

New York, May 15

Babs on Tour

Dear Sirs: Credit is given to Miss Barbara Hutton for the desire for freedom inspired in the Arab women of North Africa. To keep the spirit of freedom alive, I have encouraged an active, responsible group of cultured citizens of this city to form a League of Freedom of Women's Rights.

Many of the advanced business men have contributed to the fund, and I am happy to report for the benefit of American women that in a short time their underprivileged Arab sisters will no longer suffer their former humiliations, such as being arrested and handcuffed if found, alone or with their husbands, in a public park, arrested at once for entering any movie house, and beaten, handcuffed, and dragged by the chain of their handcuff, like a criminal, and thrown into jail whenever the Pasha feels like it.

The League of Freedom of Women's Rights needs no money, but it needs courageous moral support from all the women of the world. A nation whose women are stained with such humiliation has very little chance of progressing in the world.

SIDI MOHAMED ALI BARAHADA

Morocco, Morocco, May 1

Who Will Be the Judge?

Dear Sirs: It is quite true that strategic positions are occupied methodically by Communists, not only in departments of government here and abroad, but in our schools and universities, the press, the publishing business, industry, the motion pictures. You find them everywhere; they mean business and they are dangerous. But judging by the present drive against the Communists, I should say there are even more fascists in public office, or at least more powerfully placed: the Rankins of this country are as bitter enemies of democratic government as any Communist, and the legislation proposed by them seeks the suppression of all liberty of speech or opinion; if they are not stopped here and now, we shall find ourselves with a "subversive-thoughts" law on our books.

Both fascists and Communists have been strangely successful in persuading the liberals of this country that only a democracy has no right to defend itself from its enemies. Every suggestion that they be curbed in any way has always been met with outcries of wounded democratic feeling from the liberal left, which has defended, on the ground of safeguarding democratic government, the most cynical and base misuse of our civil liberties. I think the liberals had better clear their heads and look the situation in the face before they are driven underground to form a resistance movement to fascism or communism—the end will be the same—in our own country.

Yet in all this maggoty-minded proposed legislation I have seen no suggestion that Communist or fascist conspirators against our government shall be put to death. Let us therefore take a little warning from Mr. del Vayo's interesting article, Vatican Versus Left in Italy (*The Nation,* April 5). Mr. del Vayo says: "Another battle will no doubt be fought over the law on the Defense of the Republic—drafted by Togliatti and approved by the Council of Ministers—which provides sanctions, including the death sentence, against Fascists and Monarchists who conspire against the state."

Italy, we have been told, is to found a democracy. If it is right for a democracy in Italy to execute the death sentence upon Fascists and Monarchists, why not upon Communists too, who are equally its enemies? Granting this, why is it such a crime for a democracy in the United States to put fascist and Communist conspirators in jail, or at least to deprive them of their confidential posts in departments of our government? Does being a democrat morally oblige a man to consent to his own murder? And by what process of reason do the democrats of Italy or of America, to say nothing of Mr. del Vayo, and the editors of *The Nation,* convince themselves that Togliatti, a Communist, means to do anything to help establish a true republic in Italy? Stalin played a sinister game with Hitler when Germany was the center of power for fascism. The Vatican is now that center, and the Communists are playing their old game again. How many jolts of this kind can the liberals of this country take, I wonder, and still preserve their dazzled innocence?

KATHERINE ANNE PORTER

Santa Monica, Cal., May 11

The Wayward Reviewer

Dear Sirs: May I call attention to a slight "waywardness" in A. J. Liebling's review of "A Free and Responsible Press" (*Nation,* April 12). It appears in his query concerning Mr. Hutchins's statement in the foreword to the volume that "the commission did not conduct elaborate 'research.'" Mr. Liebling was inclined "to wonder uncharitably," as he read the book, "what they spent the $200,000 on." *It is a fair question.*

The answer is to be found by reading all of the commission's reports, not merely the general summary report. In the last pages of that summary report is a description of the special studies made for the commission which were judged by it to be worthy of separate publication. There is, in addition, a sizable collection of unpublished memoranda providing a substructure of fact underlying the commission's more general published statements. (Mr. Hutchins suggests this volume of background material in noting that 176 memoranda were distributed to the commission members.)

All this cost money. At times during the commission's life the staff rose to over twenty members, in addition to four assignments farmed out under contract.

Unfortunately for any general judgment as to the scope and quality of this factual underpinning, only three of the six special reports have as yet been published. But they indicate the essential nature of the work.

First to appear was "Peoples Speaking to Peoples," a study of international mass communication. As coauthor of

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this volume, I can testify that it was breaking new ground with sources scattered in many places, mainly in the form of unpublished memoranda or derived from interviews with participants in the communications process. Although it was only a beginning in a field deserving much more cultivation in the years ahead, competent reviewers judged the report "by every criterion the most authoritative and comprehensive description of the so-called mass media of communication between the United States and the rest of the world."

Second to appear was "Freedom of the Movies" by Ruth Inglis of our staff. Its reviewers have called it "a scholarly job" and "one of the best serious studies of the social aspects of the motion-picture industry."

Third, and most recent to appear, is "The American Radio" by Llewellyn White, assistant staff director. The reviews say of it that it "is replete with information, historical and electronic," "by far the best-documented indictment ever published on radio."

There are three more books to come. . . . The last is a piece of research under any definition. It analyzes by quantitative methods the comparative completeness and objectivity with which big and little newspapers, religious, nationality-group, and labor journals, radio networks, news magazines, and news reels reported and commented on a major public event (the San Francisco conference) to the American people. . . .

Whether the $215,000 was well spent or not, it is surely too early for Mr. Liebling, Mr. Luce, or anyone else to say. Perhaps ten years from now if Mr. Liebling finds it much harder to find case material for his delightful Wayward Press series in the *New Yorker*, we will agree that it was not money wasted.

ROBERT D. LEIGH,
Director, Commission on
Freedom of the Press

New York, May 5

Or Is He?

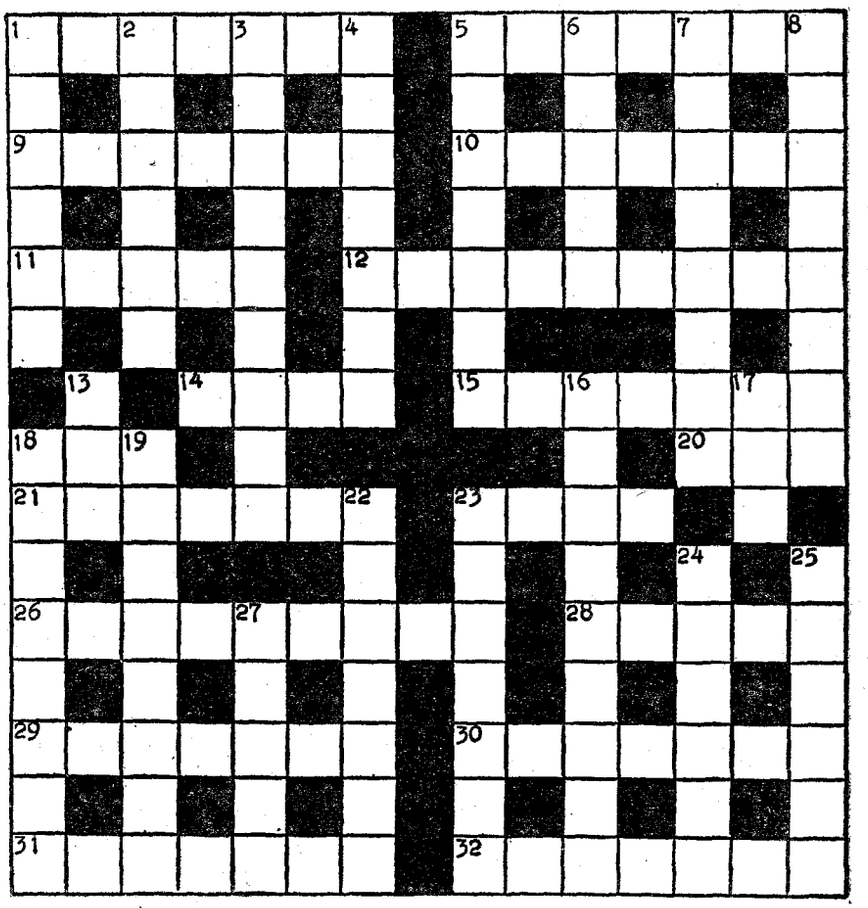
Dear Sirs: I wasn't really concerned about what had happened to Mr. Luce's money, just playfully curious. And I was reviewing a book called "A Free and Responsible Press," not the other six works (three published and three to come) mentioned by Mr. Leigh. As I tried to intimate, I thought the report as a whole was on the side of the angels, although perhaps not of the angel known as Luce.

A. J. LIEBLING

New York, May 1

Crossword Puzzle No. 213

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 Spasmodic interrupters of speech
5 It might be taken in a tavern brawl
9 Sort of duty on what is in bond?
10 Adam's tailor-made
11 One who attends church only once on Sundays
12 Self-propelled flight
14 Where one returns—for a divorce?
15 The spirit in them is not the one that drives them
18 Save Our Souls
20 A running expense in a car
21 New England town where they go on jeering
23 He begins to see red
26 The food served here may have prior consideration
28 Piece of joinery which would not have appealed to Tom Pearse's mare
29 The first letter in your name
30 Flower of a nice oat
31 Are cigarettes so called because they make you puff?
32 Catty creatures, but not unamusing

DOWN

1 Consort with the Hon. Bob
2 Enables the disabled to be self-supporting
3 Dived?
4 Where they snore a.m. (3 & 4)
5 Such display is mostly a pain
6 Talon (anag.)
7 "A -------- we will go!" might be the ghostly version of it
8 Member of the teaching profession
13 Feathered reptile
16 Not necessarily an outsize garment
17 "Some hae meat and canna ---, And some would --- that want it; But we hae meat, and we can ---, Sae let the Lord be thankit"
18 Bird that shines by night?
19 They are too much of a good thing
22 Blockheads
23 Rises with a song, and is very frolicsome
24 I've come to the end of the salad
25 A Hun is smaller without his head
27 Reprove

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 213

ACROSS:—1 PARLEY; 4 ESCAPADE; 10 PENSIVE; 11 UMPIRES; 12 RHINE; 13 LIP; 14 ELSIE; 15 CATER; 17 SORENESS; 21 PLANGENT; 23 LADLE; 26 LOSER; 28 ENA; 29 BOAST; 30 SCANNED; 31 TOUGHER; 32 ELSINORE; 33 ABOARD.

DOWN:—1 PIPERACK; 2 RUN RIOT; 3 ELITE; 5 SLUMP; 6 AMPLE; 7 ARRESTS; 8 ENSUED; 9 DECLASSE; 16 RUN; 18 RETRACTS; 19 NIL; 20 FEATURED; 22 LASCARS; 24 DRACHMA; 25 ELYSEE; 27 RUN IN; 28 ELDER; 29 BLURB.

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